THE RISE OF THE WHIGS IN VIRGINIA 1824-1840

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1824---1840

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PREFACE

No attempt has been made in the following pages to cover a broad field of history. The aim has been rather to treat in detail a narrow period of Virginia political history which abounds in numerous striking personalities, and which is marked by struggles dramatic in interest and frequently so closely contested as to make the result doubtful. The forces that checked and enhanced respectively the Whig movement before it crystallized into a great party in 1834, the political and social factors that determined party allegiannce in the State during the years when this party was fighting its way to national victory, these constitute the central thread of the following chapters.

Material for this work has been found in many sections of the State, as well as in the Congressional Library at Washington. To Dr. H. R. McIlwaine, State Librarian, and his staff of assistants, the author is especially indebted for their coöperation in making available for use materials in the Library at Richmond. To Mr. Calvert Tazewell, Norfolk, Virginia; Dr. William C. Rives, Washington, D. C., and Mr. George P. Coleman, Williamsburg, Virginia, he wishes to express gratitude for the use of private manuscripts which aided greatly in making the study possible. To the many descendants of prominent families in the State, who offered valuable suggestions, a general expression of thanks is due. Professor Dixon Ryan Fox of Co-

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CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF THE MOVEMENT

According to the census of 1820, Virginia had a white population of 603,281. The East, including the Tidewater section and the district between the Tidewater and Blue Ridge contained 349,073 of this number, and the West, including the valley and the Trans-Alleghany, 254,208.[1] Slaves in the State in 1830 numbered 469,757,[2] but only about 50,000 of these were west of the Blue Ridge.[3] As the Tidewater soils became impoverished by the constant production of tobacco, the plantation system became more general in Piedmont. Nearly two-fifths of the entire number of slaves were in the "Black Belt," comprising twenty two counties situated between the counties along James River and the North Carolina line.[4] Slave property was responsible for almost one-third of the entire revenue of the State,[5] so it is obvious that slave-holding sections would oppose politically whatever policies threatened the continued existence of this form of property or imposed, as they thought, too heavy burdens upon it.

1 Chandler—Representation in Virginia, p. 42.
2 Ballagh—History of Slavery in Virginia, p. 25.
3 Ambler—Sectionalism in Virginia, p. 41.
4 Munford—Virginia's Attitude Towards Slavery and Secession, p. 126.
5 Ambler—Sectionalism in Virginia, p. 141.

The reader should bear in mind that, among the slave-holders, the political instinct was always active. The very nature of their existence developed this instinct. Being a class of leisure and living a life of isolation, the planters consumed a large portion of their time in reading, and in reading especially works of a political nature. They must be ready as they thought, to defend their peculiar economic and social system against the assaults that might be made upon it. These characteristics of the Virginia aristocracy help to explain the party spirit which it displayed in the contests we shall describe.

Property interests in Virginia were in control of her political machinery at the beginning of the Jackson period. The Virginia constitution of the Revolutionary period had held to the principle handed down from colonial times of requiring property qualification for the exercise of the franchise, and it also apportioned representation in the General Assembly to the several cities and counties on the mixed basis, i. e., property and white population, instead of on the latter alone. This propertied assembly elected the judges of the higher courts, the Governor, and in fact all state officers. The members of the county courts were appointed by the Governor, usually upon recommendation of the sheriff. A social struggle was inevitable before this system could be changed.

Certain economic features of the State may serve to enlighten the discussion of party struggles in the following chapters. Banking interests were strong enough before 1840 to be of considerable influence. In 1804 the Legislature chartered the Bank of Virginia, with a capital of $1,500,000. The idea was that the central banks at Richmond should have branches in Norfolk, Petersburg, Winchester, Staunton, Freder-

icksburg and Lynchburg. There was a President and Board of Directors at each place, and shares were subscribed by the inhabitants of these places.[6]

In 1812 the Farmers' Bank of Virginia was chartered with a capital of $2,000,000, and included branches in all the cities mentioned above.[7] The Northwestern Bank, with headquarters at Wheeling, and the Bank of the Valley at Winchester were established in 1817.[8] Two more such institutions were chartered before 1840. Many of the citizens of Richmond had subscribed largely to the stock of the National Bank, a branch of which had been established in that city in 1817. The Northwestern Bank in 1837 had 140 stockholders, the Bank of the Valley, 266, the Farmer's Bank of Virginia, 610, and the Bank of Virginia, 704.[9] Whether significant or not, it is a fact that where the large majority of the shareholders were (as shown in the report), viz., Richmond, Petersburg, Norfolk, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, Winchester, and the counties of Jefferson, Hampshire, Kanawha, Loudoun and Chesterfield, there were usually Whig majorities.

During the years 1820 to 1840, the white population increased little in the East, but very much more rapidly in the West.[10]

By the late 1820's, the iron industry had become important in the Northwest, and in some places in the Valley, and sheep-raising had also come to be the occu-

6 Royall—History of Virginia Banks and Banking Prior to Civil War, pp. 9-13.

7 Ibid., pp. 9-13.

8 Code of 1860, p. 338.

9 See Report on Virginia Banks in 1837, in U. S. Treasury Department Reports, pp. 409, 421, 435, and 448. Vol. II.

10 The population of the East was, in 1840, 369,398, of the West 371,570; see Chandler, Representation in Virginia, footnote, p. 48. Compare these figures with those given at beginning of chapter.

pation of many in the Trans-Alleghany country.[11] But despite the growth of Western Virginia, the population of the State, even in that section, was not increasing nearly as rapidly as it was in the Northern and Western states. For instance, New York's increase from 1790 to 1800 was 77 per cent, and 1800 to 1830 44 per cent. Virginia's for the two decades was 16.32 per cent and 15.12 per cent, respectively.[12] It was estimated that 3,000 white persons annually were leaving Virginia by 1830.[13] Many attributed this emigration to the lack of internal improvements.[14] The West, the Northwest especially, desired such improvements and had no constitutional scruples in regard to this kind of activity on the part of the national government, in case the state government failed to act.[15] This section desired reform in the Legislature partly because it wished to secure appropriations for its cherished schemes.[16] But though the Northwest preferred to develop Eastern cities rather than see its produce go to Baltimore, yet the Easterners, the Tidewater always, opposed such appropriations.[17] The East, bearing decidedly the larger burden of taxation, reasoned, whether logically or not, that it would be using its own financial resources to confer benefits upon the people beyond the mountains.

Such, very briefly, were the social, political and economic conditions in Virginia during the early years of the Jackson period. How these conditions are related to the rise of the Whig party, and the connection they

11 Ambler—Sectionalism in Virginia, p. 116.
12 Statistical View of U. S. Population 1790 to 1830, pp. 60-61.
13 Ballagh—History of Slavery in Virginia, p. 139.
14 See Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 27, 1832.
15 Ambler—Sectionalism in Virginia, pp. 107, 118, 122.
16 Chandler—Representation in Virginia, pp. 45-46.
17 Ibid., pp. 46-47.

have with the development of a powerful Jackson sentiment in the State will be apparent in this and the following chapters. At the beginning of this period, there were no clearly drawn party lines, but instead factions grouped around personal leaders. There were no organized "Jackson" and "Anti-Jackson" forces. Many who later joined the Jackson ranks had anything but an exalted opinion of his executive ability during his early years of aspiration for the presidency. After indicating, then, the character of the early opposition to this man who was destined to be twice elevated to the presidency, we shall describe the forces that formed themselves into definite party groups, for and against him, during the administration of John Quincy Adams.

Virginia's choice in 1824 was Crawford. At a caucus of the members of the Virginia Legislature, held February 21, 1824, for the purpose of nominating an electoral ticket, the vote was as follows: Crawford 139, Adams 7, Jackson 6, Macon 6, Clay 5.[18] The result in the state was Crawford 8,408, Jackson 3,389, Adams 2,850, Clay 418.[19] It was claimed, however, that many Crawford men, certain of the result, absented themselves from the polls.[20]

There are strong indications, however, that Adams was, at this time, the second choice of the State. Tyler wrote to Clay that he was fully impressed with the belief that the country owed him a deep debt of gratitude for turning the election in favor of Adams, for "I do not believe that the sober and reflecting people of Virginia would have been so far dazzled by military renown as to have conferred their suffrage upon a

18 Niles' Register, Vol. XXV, p. 408, also Norfolk Beacon, Feb. 26, 1824.

19 Richmond Enquirer, Nov. 9 and 26, 1824.

20 Ibid., Nov. 26, 1824.

mere soldier—one acknowledged on all hands to be of little value as a civilian." [21] The Richmond Enquirer, edited by Thomas Ritchie and destined later to be the great Jackson organ in the State, had declared in December 1823, that should Adams be chosen, "we may retain the services and profit by the experience of present heads of departments, and of other ministers of the general government," [22] and later the same journal asserted its opposition to Jackson because he lacked the qualities of a statesman.[23]

The Norfolk Herald declared that "The great majority of Mr. Crawford's friends in Virginia are so decidedly opposed to Jackson, that under no circumstances whatever could they be induced to favor his election: put Mr. Crawford out of the question to the people of Virginia, J. Q. Adams would be the President without a doubt." [24] The Richmond Whig, while strongly advocating Adams,[25] and while admitting that Crawford was Virginia's choice, urged that the Legislature advise the electors as to second choice, in case Crawford should not win, as such choice "would of course be Adams." [26] Even men like C. W. Gooch and P. N. Nicholas, who were to be towers of strength at a later period in the Jackson party, suggested in 1824 that New York and Virginia support Clay for Vice-President because the followers of Jackson and Adams would support Calhoun.[27]

The story of no movement in which there are strong contending factors can be written without constant

21 Clay Correspondence, Tyler to Clay, March 27, 1825.
22 Richmond Enquirer, Dec. 9, 1823.
23 Ibid., March 2, 1824.
24 Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald, Feb. 4, 1825.
25 Richmond Whig, Feb. 24, April 30, 1824.
26 Richmond Whig, March 30, 1824.
27 Van Buren MSS., C. W. Gooch to Van Buren, Sept. 14, 1824: P. N. Nicholas to Van Buren, Oct. 19 and 31, 1824.

reference to each of the contending parties, though the major emphasis may be upon the one or the other. Before 1828 we pay considerable attention to the movement for Jackson: after that time certainly the chief emphasis is upon the elements of opposition to him and to his designated successor, Van Buren.

Before proceeding further with this discussion, however, it is appropriate to refer briefly to the press of the State, since it provided valuable material for the entire period covered by this study. Newspapers of that time were, with few exceptions, veritable political sheets. Their principal reason for existence seemed to be to aid one or the other of political parties or factions. Whether local papers or not they were ably edited. Perhaps at no time during the history of the State could one find a more imposing array of editors than Thomas Ritchie of the Richmond Enquirer, John H. Pleasants of the Richmond Whig, Richard Toler of the Lynchburg Virginian, Frank Blair of the Washington Globe, Thomas W. Gilmer of the Charlottesville Advocate and Richard E. Parker of the Winchester Virginian. (Blair was not a Virginian, but the Washington Press is included in this discussion, since it paid considerable attention to Virginia politics.)

As far as political complexion is concerned, the large majority of the press was Anti-Jackson. The Richmond Whig was the principal Anti-Jackson paper in the eastern part of the State, as was the Lynchburg Virginian in the western section. The National Intelligencer at Washington strongly opposed Jackson. Other lesser opposition prints were the Charlottesville Advocate, Charlestown Free Press, Staunton Spectator, and the Lexington Union and Gazette, respectively. The Madisonian at Washington was established to further the conservative movement during the

late 1830's. Though not as numerous, the Jackson papers were influential. The Richmond Enquirer was a tower of Democratic strength, and the Washington Globe, a Jackson organ founded at Washington in December, 1830, devoted no small part of its space to Virginia party battles. The Petersburg Constellation and the Winchester Virginian both supported Jackson. Niles Register was a valuable source because it included a digest of the newspaper opinions of the country.

To return to our central theme, as soon as Mr. Adams sent his first annual message to Congress, strong discontent with its principles was expressed by many of the Virginia school of politicians. W. B. Giles, in a series of articles published in the Enquirer under the title "Political Disquisitions," lauded State Rights Principles, and bitterly attacked Adams, especially for his stand in regard to internal improvements by the national government.[28] Giles became an ardent Jackson leader, used his influence as Governor in 1827 in getting the Virginia Legislature to denounce the tariff and internal improvements, and in 1828, in transmitting to the Legislature resolutions from Georgia and South Carolina, hinted that secession might be resorted to if oppressive tariff laws were not repealed.[29]

The Richmond Enquirer declared that "No Administration ever lost strength throughout Virginia so completely as the present one since its commencement. If Mr. Adams wishes to regain any of the ground he has lost, he must avoid all such outrageous attacks

[28] Anderson, Life of Giles, pp. 217-218. Giles in his Political Miscellanies, No. III, pp. 3 and 4, uses the following language: "Unfortunately for man, Governments are necessary evils, possessing vast creative powers to do mischief, but very limited creative power to do good."

[29] Anderson, Life of Giles, pp. 219 and 222.

upon the pure principles of the Constitution, as distinguished his last message: throw himself upon his country and not his favorite partisans: do his duty fearlessly and deliberately, without turning this way or that way, to please this man or that man, or to promote his own re-election." [30]

In December, 1825, Gordon wrote to Jefferson that "the sweeping message of President Adams leaves little room to hope that we shall be able to save even a vestige of the Constitution. Our brethren of the Western part of Virginia are most of them friendly to the power usurped by the general government on the subject of internal improvements, their interest luring them from an impartial judgment." [31]

It was under these conditions of protest against the latitudinarian policies of the Administration that the Jackson movement was launched, though there was evidently no great enthusiasm for Jackson himself. What was desired was an Anti-Adams man. In October, 1826, Nicholas wrote to Van Buren that "In Virginia there is decided opposition to the Administration. The difficulty is whom to run against Adams. We are so little informed as to the views of those with whom we would coöperate in other states. There are surely some of us discreet enough to be confided in. General Jackson, as you know, was not the favorite originally of Virginia, and there are many among us who carry their hostility to him to unreasonable lengths. But as we act in opposition to the principles of Mr. Adams in Virginia, I do not think in any event he can possibly get the vote of this State." [32] Van Buren replied that Jackson was the man to bring victory. [33]

30 Richmond Enquirer, June 13, 1826.
31 See letter in Gordon, Life of Gordon, p. 131.
32 Van Buren MSS., Nicholas to Van Buren, Oct. 13, 1826.
33 Ibid., Van Buren to Nicholas, no date given.

In 1827 Ritchie expressed to Tazewell the opinion that "the coming election will be the crisis of our Constitution. Principles will then be fixed which will cast their shadows, or their lights, upon years to come." [34] Scarcely more than a month before this letter was written, Van Buren had proposed to Ritchie an alliance between "the planters of the South and the plain Republicans of the North," [35] and in March, 1828, Ritchie assured Van Buren that he was determined "to see Jackson's banner wave over the capitol, March 4, 1829." [36] All these facts indicate that Van Buren was a significant factor in influencing the Virginia democracy to accept Jackson, and in maintaining that close connection between New York and Virginia, which runs like a thread through this discourse. Ritchie, as late as April, 1827, admitted that there were objections to Jackson, viz., that he was a friend of the tariff and of internal improvements to a limited extent, but he claimed that in his letters, Jackson had declared himself "opposed to the dangerous doctrine of implication, opposed to the extension of executive patronage, opposed to foreign political connections, opposed to the system of loans." [37]

The Administration supporters, i. e., opponents of Jackson, met the early attacks on the Adams policies in several ways. Some admitted that Virginia would object vigorously to that part of the message dealing with internal improvements, so proposed either an amendment to the constitution or the consent of the states to cut canals and build roads.[38] Others empha-

[34] Tazewell MSS., Ritchie to Tazewell, Feb. 28, 1827.
[35] Ambler, Life of Ritchie, p. 107.
[36] Van Buren MSS., Ritchie to Van Buren, March 11, 1828.
[37] Richmond Enquirer, April 27, 1827.
[38] Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald, Dec. 12, 1825.

sized the fact that Jackson's views were latitudinarian on the subject, and also claimed that the West was in need of internal improvements. The Lynchburg Virginian declared that Adams had enjoyed the confidence and affection of the Virginia Republicans from 1807 to 1820, that he was no more latitudinarian than Jackson, and that if the Virginia State Rights school could show a candidate more satisfactory on either the tariff or internal improvements than Adams, it would support him.[39] And it did not hesitate to remind the Westerners that Virginia was "almost as rude as she was fashioned by nature. Efforts at improvement seem to have been utterly idle and useless."[40] The Adams supporters wished to know if it were not broad construction of the Constitution when Jefferson bought Louisiana, when he signed the Cumberland Road Bill, and when Madison signed the Bank Bill.[41]

The Whig declared that "The Panama Mission, harmless, if not beneficial, has been the signal for the onslaught that started as soon as Adams was elected. Parties have formerly acted upon principles, upon fundamental differences of opinion. Now the partisans of defeated candidates form the opposition. Personal enemies of the President, of Mr. Clay, all disappointed ones, old Republicans and ultra Federalists, strict constructionists and latitudinarians—Kentucky Relief and New York Bucktails, finally Vice-President Calhoun and John Randolph, these constitute the opposition."[42] The Lynchburg Virginian likewise belittled the character of the opposition to Adams in this manner:

39 Lynchburg Virginian, May 18, July 6, August 17, 1826.
40 Ibid., August 7, 1826.
41 Richmond Whig, Feb. 28, Nov. 21, 1826; Lynchburg Virginian, Nov. 9, 1826.
42 Richmond Whig, March 21, 1826.

"Power, dream of it, inspires the opposition to Adams. Giles hopes to ride into power now as a State Rights advocate, yet in 1808 he ridiculed the idea of letting the clamors of the states detract from the 'energy' of the general government. He denied the validity of instructions in 1811, now he defends them. John Randolph and L. W. Tazewell were tertium quids, and opposed to Jefferson, now they are elected to defend Jefferson's principles, and have become the pets of the Richmond Junto. They oppose Adams, and if a new President is elected, it will not be long before those acting together will differ among themselves." [43] As we shall point out in the next chapter, this prediction was destined to prove true.

There were two Senatorial elections in Virginia in 1825 and 1827, respectively, each politically important, but the latter of more interest and significance. In 1825 it was necessary to elect a Senator to succeed James Barbour, who had resigned to accept a place in Adams' Cabinet. The Adams party favored James Pleasants or Chapman Johnson.[44] It was claimed that William B. Giles was the candidate of the Richmond Junto, that body which "issues its orders with the hauteur of a Roman Pontiff, and exercises a paralyzing influence over the whole State." [45] This charge, that there was a central body at Richmond, controlling, through the Legislature, the affairs of the State, had been made before, and Niles Register had gone so far as to declare that this body, through the caucus system, was more powerful, and more ambitious to control the affairs of the entire na-

[43] Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 9, 1826.
[44] Clay Correspondence, Clay to Brook, Nov. 30, 1825; Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 13, 1825.
[45] Lynchburg Virginian, Nov. 17, 1825.

tion than the Albany Regency.[46] John Randolph, however, was elected Senator, instead of Giles.[47]

Randolph became a bitter critic of the Administration, and for that reason a special target of the Administration supporters in the State. The Norfolk Beacon declared that Congress had dethroned itself of reason, if it continued to permit Randolph's tirade of invective and personal defamation,[48] while the Alexandria Gazette declared him to be "of a heart so devilish, that the pleasure of his life consists in inflicting pain upon others."[49] Randolph's tenure was to expire March 4, 1827, and this led Wilson, a strong Anti-Administration member of the Legislature, to offer a resolution December 20, 1826, to proceed with the election of a Senator, his purpose being, as stated, to apprise the general government of the opposition of Virginia. The motion was tabled 93 to 64.[50] The election was held January 13, 1827, with the result that John Tyler, the opponent of Randolph, won by a vote of 115 to 110.[51]

In the Legislature this contest had been construed as in part a contest between the Administration and the Jackson parties.[52] Tyler, it will be recalled, had written a letter to Clay defending the latter's action in supporting Adams, and this letter was now used to show that he favored the Administration.[53] Tyler, up to the time of election, had not declared in favor of Jackson, and had been nominated by Stuart M. Moore

46 Niles' Register, Vol. XXVII, Sept. 4, 1824.
47 Lynchburg Virginian, Dec. 15, 1825.
48 Norfolk Beacon, May 1, 1826.
49 Alexandria Gazette, Jan. 15, 1827.
50 Richmond Whig, Dec. 22, 1826.
51 Norfolk Beacon, Jan. 15, 1827.
52 Richmond Enquirer, see legislative proceedings, Jan. 16, 1827.
53 Clay Correspondence, Clay to Brooke, Feb. 8, 1827.

of Rockbridge, an avowed Adams man, supported actively by Leffler, an opponent of the Virginia Jackson leaders, and Davis, a strong friend of Clay. Yet, as Ritchie pointed out, of the 227 votes, only 30 were Adams men, hence many Jackson supporters voted for Tyler.[54] At a dinner given to Tyler on March 3, at Richmond, he declared himself opposed to the Administration, and concluded with the following toast: "The Federative System—in its simplicity there is grandeur —in its preservation, liberty—in its destruction, tyranny." [55] Tyler's real choice for the Presidency in 1828 was De Witt Clinton, and he did not finally decide to support Jackson until September, 1827, when he knew Clinton would not be the candidate.[56]

The following comment of the Lynchburg Virginian will show how the Adams supporters usually regarded the election of Tyler: "Virginia, without abating one jot or tittle of that hostility, which she is alleged to entertain against the Administration, has thus redeemed her character from the odium which the *manner* of that opposition *last winter justly affixed* to her character." [57]

The presidential campaign of 1827-28 reveals the nature and character of the Jackson and Anti-Jackson forces on the eve of Jackson's elevation to the Presidency. There was considerable sentiment in Virginia in favor of De Witt Clinton,[58] but this movement did not assume formidable proportions, and with its failure the choice lay between Jackson and Adams.

Both parties in this struggle tried to associate them-

[54] Richmond Enquirer, Aug. 21, 1827.
[55] Ibid., March 6, 1827.
[56] Tyler, Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, p. 375.
[57] Lynchburg Virginian, Jan. 18, 1827.
[58] Ibid., Feb. 13, 1827; Tyler, Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, pp. 363 and 375.

selves with the principles of Jefferson. The Lynchburg Virginian declared that though the Jackson supporters compared the present struggle to the struggle between the elder Adams and Jefferson, yet there was no similarity between the two, because Jackson's votes and statements had not been consistent, and his views were whatever his friends chose to make them in various sections.[59] The Jackson supporters admitted that Jefferson had preferred Adams to Jackson before the election, but they quoted from a letter, written by Thomas Randolph, his son-in-law, to the effect that Jefferson had afterwards condemned the Administration, and had declared that Jackson could remedy the evils arising from broad construction.[60]

There was a battle of words in regard to letters that Jefferson had written Giles about Adams. It was claimed that Giles had published a letter written by Jefferson December 26, 1825, in which Adams was censured, but that he had withheld from publication a letter written by the same man December 25, 1825, in which the President was praised.[61] The second of these letters (the one written on the 26th) may be found in Gordon's "Life of Gordon." It reads in part as follows: "Under the power to regulate commerce, the government assumes indefinitely that also over agriculture and manufacturing; and calls it regulation to take the earnings of one of these branches of industry, and that, too, the most depressed, and put them into the pockets of the other, the most flourishing of all." [62] A copy of the letter written on December 25, being in the hands of Judge Archibald Stuart, was published

59 Lynchburg Virginian, May 11, 1827.

60 This letter was published in the Charlottesville Advocate, and reprinted in the Richmond Enquirer, Aug. 24, 1827.

61 Niles Register, Vol. XXXV, p. 145, Nov. 1, 1828.

62 Gordon, Life of Gordon, pp. 130-131.

in the Staunton Spectator, October 15, 1828, and reprinted in the Lynchburg Virginian, October 27, 1828. In this communication, Jefferson praises Adams for his patriotism, and declared he performed a real service to his country when he made known to him (Jefferson) New England disunion sentiment in 1807.[63]

In April, 1828, Giles wrote Tazewell that he was glad to aid in any way in putting down the present dynasty, and would communicate anything he had to him on the subject of Adams policy in 1807, including extracts from Jefferson's letters.[64] Three days later Giles wrote to Tazewell that Jefferson had written him a letter December 26, 1825, telling him (Giles) to make whatever use he wished of the letter that Jefferson had written the day before, the twenty-fifth. He enclosed the correspondence between the two to Tazewell, but advises the latter not to publish one of his (Giles) letters to Jefferson, as that might call for Jefferson's *whole* reply, and to this he would never consent.[65]

The Adams supporters tried to affiliate more closely their candidate with the principles of Jefferson by pointing out that of the Jefferson electors of 1800 now living only one, Giles, was for Jackson, while all the rest, Judge Brooke, Cabell and Stuart, Doctor Field of Brunswick, McKinley of Ohio and Newton of Norfolk, were for Adams.[66]

The Jackson supporters predicted dire consequences in the event that Adams was re-elected. At a dinner given to Floyd in Richmond, February, 1827, he declared that great combinations of individuals and states

[63] See Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 27, 1828.
[64] Tazewell MSS., Giles to Tazewell, April 14, 1828.
[65] Tazewell MSS., Giles to Tazewell, April 17, 1828.
[66] Petersburg Intelligencer, Nov. 13, 1827.

had been formed for the purpose of destroying the principles of the Constitution, the liberties of the people, and the rights of the states.[67] Tyler declared that the election of Adams would be followed by that of Clay, and that a victory for Adams would so inspire the Clayites in Western Virginia that they would effect a division of the state.[68] Andrew Stevenson, Speaker of the House, was reported to have said to a Congressman named Sloane, in the Bank of Virginia, that if Jackson were not elected, the Union would be dissolved.[69] Later Stevenson admitted that he stated that as the result of the election of Adams, a disruption of the Union might ensue, but said the remark could not be construed to mean that it was a design of the Jackson men to disrupt it.[70]

In March, 1828, Giles, in a letter to the Enquirer, declared that the Constitutional views of Adams did not suit Virginia, and that he was "in no sense a Republican, either in theory or practice." [71] January 13, 1828, there was held in Richmond a Jackson legislative caucus (Convention it might be termed, as many counties and boroughs sent delegates) to frame a Jackson electoral ticket. This Convention was confronted with the question as to whether to endorse Calhoun for Vice-President. It was urged against him that he was opposed to the Virginia doctrines, that at least he did not agree with her in opposition to internal improvements. It was urged in his favor that Pennsylvania and New York were supporting him, and that it would

67 Niles' Register, Vol. XXXII, p. 115, April 14, 1827.
68 Tyler, Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, pp. 383-386.
69 Richmond Whig, Aug. 13, 1828.
70 See letter to Richmond Enquirer, republished in Norfolk Beacon, Aug. 18, 1828.
71 Richmond Enquirer, March 1, 1828.

promote unity and harmony to do so. He was endorsed by a vote of 164 to 25.[72]

The Anti-Jackson forces, though not as well organized, were equally as active as their opponents during the late months of 1827 and those of 1828. Clay wrote Brooke that there was strong Adams sentiment in Virginia, but that the Legislature was powerful, and that through the inequality of representation, it was kept under the control of the Anti-Adams forces, thus cementing their strength.[73] In many places during the fall of 1827 Administration supporters were urging the calling of an Anti-Jackson Convention in Richmond to form an electoral ticket, it being claimed that the shaping of an electoral ticket by members of the Legislature was a narrow, undemocratic method.[74] Niles Register reported a great stir in the Valley and Western counties in electing delegates to this convention,[75] while the Petersburg Intelligencer stated late in October that most of the delegates chosen by that time were from Western and Northwestern counties.[76]

In this same month, October, there was held a large Anti-Jackson meeting in Lynchburg for the purpose of electing delegates to the convention. Mayor Cristopher Winfree, Jesse E. Harrison, Patrick H. Cabell and Richard H. Toler were the principal leaders. The resolutions of the meeting claimed that the opposition to Adams was inspired by hatred of the North, malice toward Clay, and hunger for office. It declared the opposition was strengthened by two Senators who "never had a place in the heart of Virginia in the days of Jefferson," and by a Governor whom "the mild voice

[72] See Whig, Jan. 16, 1828, and Enquirer, Jan. 17, 1828.
[73] Clay Correspondence, Clay to Brooke, Sept. 24, 1827.
[74] Richmond Whig, Oct. 3, 6, 21, 1827.
[75] Niles' Register, Vol. XXXIII, p. 129, Oct. 27, 1827.
[76] Petersburg Intelligencer, Oct. 23, 1827.

of Madison may rebuke in vain."[77] Jackson was condemned as a man of vile habits, with no qualification for the Presidency except military fame, and is said to be no more of a strict constructionist than Adams.[78]

In Norfolk Borough and County, respectively, meetings were held in November. The Adams leaders here were Robert B. Taylor, Joseph H. Robertson, John A. Chandler and Archibald Taylor. These meetings denounced the caucus system of choosing electors, claimed that the policy of Adams was that of Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, and denounced Jackson in the following manner: ". . . The book of General Jackson's life can scarce anywhere be opened that its page does not present some violation of the laws or breach of the Constitution of his country. Witness the impeachment of a Judge for issuing the Constitutional writ of Habeas Corpus—the dispersion of the Legislature of a sovereign state—and his threat to cut off the ears of a United States Senator, for calling in question, in the Senate, the propriety of these high-handed measures."[79]

In October an Adams meeting in Richmond appointed a Committee of Correspondence, and provided that the Convention be held in Richmond, January 8, 1828. This body so severely condemned Jackson and the whole opposition, that Chapman Johnson, one of the ablest Adams, leaders, wrote the following in a letter to the Committee: "While I prefer Adams, my preference is not founded on an opinion of the fitness of Mr.

77 The allusion here is to a letter written by Madison in Oct., 1827, saying he did not regard the tariff as unconstitutional, and condemning Virginia resolutions of last two years on same.

78 These proceedings may be found in Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 10, 1827.

79 Norfolk Beacon, Nov. 5 and 10, 1827. Author unable to find this charge elsewhere.

Adams, nor on confidence in his cabinet: but owing to a solemn conviction that General Jackson is altogether unfit, and eminently dangerous. I do not concur with your resolutions in the measure of condemnation they have meted out to the opposition." [80] Johnson, however, consented to serve as a delegate to the Convention.

The Anti-Jackson Convention met at Richmond January 8, 1828. Out of 105 counties and 5 boroughs in the State, 80 were represented. The Convention was called to order by Judge Archibald Stuart. Judge Francis Brooke, President of the Court of Appeals, presided, while Chapman Johnson, who prepared the address, and John H. Pleasants were other prominent leaders. An electoral ticket was named with such men on it as James Madison, James Monroe, Chapman Johnson, Judges Brooke and Stuart and Judge Lewis Summers of Kanawha.

The address of course endorsed Adams, but frankly stated that it did not approve all the Administration measures. It denied that Jackson was the popular choice, and denounced his military tactics, saying that he disobeyed orders of the Government in his operations in Florida, and had constantly placed his own authority in opposition to that of the War Department. Thus, it claimed that Jackson's candidacy made the Constitution the issue, while it denied that Adams' policies had been unconstitutional. The Central Corresponding Committee appointed was composed of the following: Judges William H. Cabell, Dabney Carr, John Coalter, Reverend John Kerr, Robert Stanard, J. B. Harvie, Peyton Randolph, J. H. Pleasants, Chas.

[80] Richmond Enquirer. For these proceedings see Oct. 26, Nov. 22, 1827.

Copland, Thomas Brockenbrough, E. W. Rooter, J. H. Eustace and Thomas Nelson.[81]

Madison and Monroe refused to serve on the electoral ticket. The former declared that he had resolved not to enter political life again after forty years of such experience, while Monroe stated that those who had held public office should not become partisans in subsequent elections.[82] The opposition denounced the placing of the names of these two men on the ticket as a trick designed to show that they were strong supporters of the Administration.[83]

The Jackson ticket was called by the opposition "The caucus, Military Ticket," [84] while they called their own ticket, i. e., the Adams ticket, "The People's Ticket." [85] The opposition to Jackson emphasized the anti-tariff proceedings in South Carolina, and claimed that Virginia's outspoken opposition to the policies of the general government was largely responsible for this "madness." [86] At the same time they pointed out that though Adams favored the tariff, Jackson's views were unknown.[87]

Near the close of the campaign, the Adams supporters condemned severely "the narrow and partisan" policy of Governor Giles in refusing to appoint any but Jackson men as Commissioners of Election. The result was that the Anti-Jackson Central Committee selected

81 Proceedings of Anti-Jackson Convention held at Richmond, Jan., 1828. In Virginia Political Pamphlets, Vol. I.

82 See letters in Alexandria Gazette, March 4, 1828.

83 Richmond Enquirer, Jan. 15, 1828.

84 Richmond Whig, Sept. 6 and 10, 1828.

85 Lynchburg Virginian, April 14, 1828.

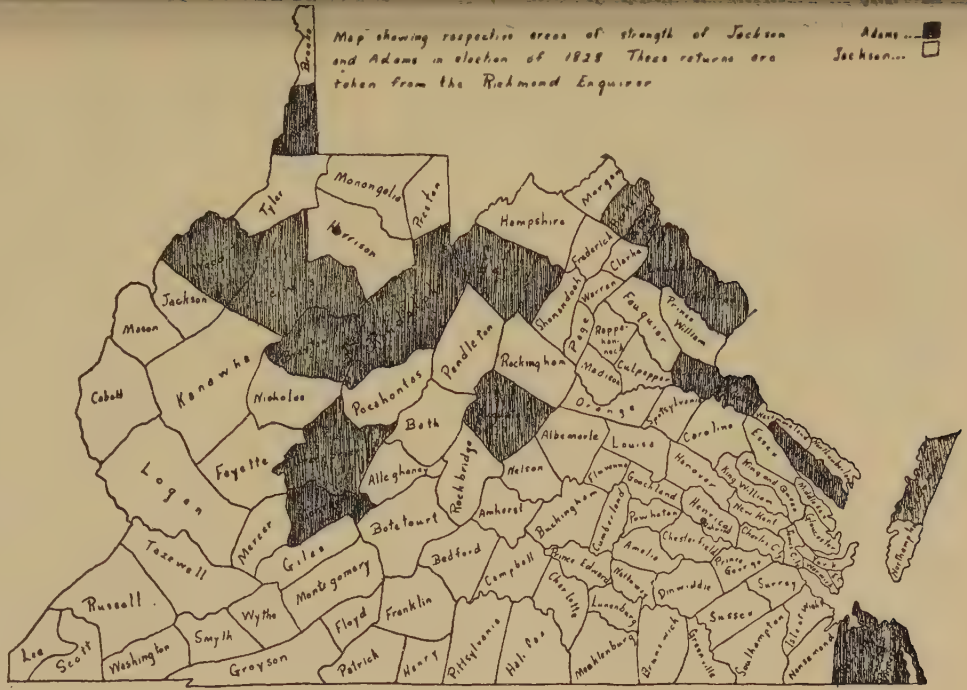
86 Richmond Whig, July 9, 1828; National Intelligencer quoted in Enquirer, July 18, 1828.

87 Address of Whig Central Committee, Richmond Whig, Oct. 18, 1828.

a vigilance list for each county and borough to distribute tickets and bring out voters.[88]

The returns as given in the Richmond Enquirer were as follows: Jackson 26,752, Adams 12,101. From a sectional standpoint, the outstanding results were the strength shown by Adams in the Northwest, and by Jackson in the East and Southwest.

[88] Norfolk Beacon, Sept. 20, 1828; Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 18 and 29, 1828.


Map showing respective areas of strength of Jackson and Adams in election of 1828 These returns are taken from the Richmond Enquirer
Adams...
Jackson...
Brooke
Tyler
Monongalia
Preston
Harrison
Hampshire
Morgan
Berkeley
Jefferson
Frederick
Clarke
Shenandoah
Warren
Fauquier
Prince William
Page
Rappahannock
Culpeper
Madison
Rockingham
Pendleton
Jackson
Mason
Kanawha
Nicholas
Pocahontas
Bath
Orange
Spottsylvania
Caroline
Essex
King and Queen
King William
Hanover
Albemarle
Louisa
Cabell
Logan
Fayette
Alleghany
Rockbridge
Nelson
Amherst
Buckingham
Cumberland
Powhatan
Henrico
New Kent
Charles City
James City
Gloucester
Tazewell
Mercer
Giles
Botetourt
Bedford
Campbell
Prince Edward
Amelia
Chesterfield
Prince George
Surrey
Russell
Wythe
Montgomery
Floyd
Franklin
Charlotte
Lunenburg
Dinwiddie
Sussex
Lee
Scott
Washington
Smyth
Grayson
Patrick
Henry
Pittsylvania
Halifax
Mecklenburg
Brunswick
Greensville
Southampton
Isle of Wight
Norfolk
Princess Anne
Northampton
Accomack

CHAPTER II

ELEMENTS OF OPPOSITION TO JACKSON, 1828–1832

Not long after the presidential campaign of 1828 had come to a close, Francis Brooke wrote to James Barbour that "In the presidential contest, we have lost everything but our honor," [1] and John Taliaferro spoke of the defeat of Adams as a "Waterloo rout." [2] In these same letters, these two Anti-Jackson leaders predicted a violent revolution in respect to official changes, but advised Barbour to remain as U. S. Minister at the Court of St. James until he was recalled, which event they anticipated would happen soon after the inauguration. Their prophecies were fulfilled when Van Buren, May 12, 1829, informed Barbour that Louis McLane of Delaware had been appointed Minister to England, and that he could await McLane's arrival or leave, as he chose.[3]

Jackson's policies in regard to appointments and removals were severely assailed not only by his former enemies in the State, but by many of his friends also. His widespread removal of officials was called "proscription of the worst kind," [4] and his appointment of editors to office was denounced as a "regular system." [5] The opposition press was quick to point out that Virginia had received little recognition in the way of appointments.[6] John H. Pleasants, in a letter to James

1 James Barbour MSS.—Brooke to Barbour, Jan. 27, 1829.
2 Ibid.—Taliaferro to Barbour, Feb. 2, 1829.
3 Barbour MSS.—Van Buren to Barbour, May 12, 1829.
4 Lynchburg Virginian, March 19, 1829.
5 Richmond Whig, May 19, June 5, 1829.
6 Fredericksburg Arena, July 17, 1829; Whig, April 28, 1829.

Barbour, expressed the opinion that Jackson's proscriptive system would cause the administration to "go out at the end of four years with more unanimity than it came in," and "your recall, and being supplanted by a Federalist, have not been relished." [7]

Many of Jackson's own friends in Virginia were highly displeased with his cabinet appointments. As early as December 8, 1827, Tyler had written to John Rutherford that Jackson, if elected, would no doubt select famous Southerners for his cabinet, and among these he mentioned Littleton W. Tazewell and P. P. Barbour.[8] Barbour himself thought Tazewell a strong cabinet possibility.[9] John Floyd frankly stated that Jackson's cabinet appointments had displeased his friends, that he had surrounded himself with men "of narrow minds," instead of choosing "men of brains and intellect," and he reminded Tazewell that he (Floyd) and Tazewell had carried Virginia for Jackson.[10] John Wickham wrote to Tazewell that "it was expected generally, and certainly by your Virginia friends, that you would be at the head of some important department." [11] Ritchie admitted that Virginia wanted Tazewell in the cabinet,[12] and in regard to Jackson's policy of removals, actually wrote a letter to Van Buren to be given Jackson, protesting against this part of the President's policy.[13] Tazewell displayed little enthusiasm over Jackson's victory, and

7 Barbour MSS.—Pleasants to Barbour, May 30, 1829.
8 Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, p. 376.
9 Barbour MSS.—P. P. Barbour to James Barbour, Jan. 27, 1829.
10 Floyd Diary, 1831; Floyd MSS., Floyd to Tazewell, May 31, 1832.
11 John Wickham to Tazewell, April 24, 1829.
12 Enquirer quoted in Lynchburg Virginian, March 2, 1829.
13 See Van Buren's autobiography, pp. 242-248.

was convinced that "our party is too numerous to hold together very long." [14]

This prediction was destined ultimately to be justified, yet the Jackson forces were held intact until after the election of 1832. The main theme of this chapter is the unsuccessful effort of the elements of opposition to the administration to coalesce.

The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-30 was connected with national politics in several ways. The eastern slave-holding planter favored representation based on man and property, the small western farmer favored free manhood suffrage.[15] The easterners were afraid that a change in the existing system would endanger the representation accorded the slave population in the national government. The result was that 99 of the 126 States Rights men in the House of Delegates opposed the calling of a Constitutional Convention.[16] The West at this time stood for the tariff, so it was urged that, if representation were given in proportion to population, there would not be so many anti-tariff resolutions in the Legislature.[17] As a rule those who, during the years 1825-1828, voted in the House for resolutions of censure regarding the activities of the federal government, were against the calling of a convention, and those who were against these resolutions favored it.[18]

Since the Convention of 1829-30 represented in Virginia itself a struggle between the levelling tendencies of Jacksonian democracy and conservative elements possessed of property, and since the principal oppo-

[14] Grigsby MSS.—Tazewell to Grigsby, Dec. 5, 1829.
[15] Chandler—History of Suffrage in Virginia, p. 30.
[16] Ambler—Sectionalism in Virginia, pp. 142-43.
[17] Lynchburg Virginian, April 2, 1829.
[18] Ambler—Sectionalism in Virginia, pp. 143-144.

nents of reform in that convention were later members of the Whig party, it is worth our while to pay some attention to the proceedings of this distinguished body.

The aims of the Westerners in the convention, as stated by Philip Doddridge, were five in number: equal apportionment of representation among white population, extension of the right of suffrage to all who pay taxes, total abolition of the Executive Council, a governor elected by the people, and future apportionments to keep representation equal among the people.[19]

Perhaps the outstanding opponent of these propositions was Benjamin Watkins Leigh. He wished to know what the reasons were for putting the control of the wealth of the State into hands different from those that held that wealth, for a plan which has representation founded on white population alone, and contribution on a ratio double, treble, and quadruple in proportion.[20] Cooke of Frederick, in reply, declared that the Virginia Bill of Rights stated that all power was vested in and derived from the people, and that a majority of the community, by the law of nature and necessity, has a right to control its concerns.[21]

Abel P. Upshur, another prominent Easterner, now came forward with the argument that there are two kinds of majority, a majority in interest, as well as a majority in number.[22] He denied that there were any original principles of government at all; they are only principles which people who form the government choose to adopt and apply to themselves.[23] The constituent elements of society, he said, are persons and

19 Convention Debates, p. 476.
20 Ibid., p. 53.
21 Ibid., p. 54.
22 Ibid., p. 66.
23 Ibid., p. 69.

property, and the subjects of legislation are persons and property.[24]

Doddridge declared that because the Easterners possessed slaves, they could not possibly subscribe to the principle of majority rule. The West, he said, will not have slaves, but will continue to grow in population, and finally their preponderant population will ask who really does rule it.[25] Campbell of Brooke, another Westerner, declared the property basis of representation anti-republican, and claimed that it was the common basis of aristocratic and monarchical government.[26]

The following language, used by Leigh, played such an important part in the politics of the 30's, that we quote it: "In every civilized country under the sun, some there must be who labor for their daily bread, either by contact with, or subjection to others, or for themselves. Slaves, in the eastern part of this State, fill the place of the peasantry of Europe—of the peasantry or day-laborers in the non-slavery states of the Union. . . . Men who tend the herds and dig the soil, who have neither real nor personal property of their own,—these, by this scheme, are all to be represented —but none of our slaves, and yet in political economy, the latter fill exactly the same place. . . . I ask gentlemen to say, whether they believe, that those who are obliged to depend on their daily labor for daily subsistence, can, or do ever enter into political affairs? They never do, never will, never can. . . . Now what real share, as far as mind is concerned, does any man suppose the peasantry of the west . . . can or ever will

[24] Convention Debates, p. 70.
[25] Ibid., pp. 86, 87.
[26] Ibid., p. 118.

take in affairs of State." [27] Because of the above remarks, Leigh was burned in effigy at Harrisonburg in November, 1829.[28]

It should be noted that the conservative elements in this convention were strong enough to stem the democratic tide. Gordon's plans for an equitable distribution of representation was adopted instead of the white basis; the suffrage, though extended to landholders and householders, was not universal; and the plan to elect the governor by popular vote was defeated.[29]

The tariff and, as a result of it, the tendency towards nullification, were destined to play a considerable part in Virginia party movements before nullification was actually attempted. There was sentiment in the West for Clay's American System. The Charlestown Free Press declared every argument against this system to be ridiculous.[30] The Lynchburg Virginian published two letters from Madison to Joseph C. Cabell in which he declared that Congress had a constitutional right to lay duties with the idea of protecting manufactures,[31] and this paper itself declared that protective duties were politic in relation to every article produced at home, for they would create a home market and a favorable balance of trade.[32] It was freely predicted by the opposition press that the tariff question would vex Jackson, and would be the rock on which his party would founder.[33]

27 Ibid., pp. 158-159.
28 Niles' Register, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 210, 225.
29 Ambler: Sectionalism in Virginia, pp. 163, 168.
30 Charlestown Free Press, Dec. 1, 1830.
31 Lynchburg Virginian, Jan. 1, 1829.
32 Ibid., Jan. 20, 1829, and Oct. 1, 1829.
33 Richmond Whig, July 21, 1829; Lynchburg Virginian, Dec. 18, 1829.

In the meantime, the opponents of the tariff were not idle. The Virginia Legislature, as was its annual custom since 1824, passed resolutions in 1828-29 condemning the tariff, and at the same time reaffirming the principles of 1798-99.[34] Ritchie, through the columns of the Enquirer, denounced Madison's position on the constitutionality of the recent tariff, claiming that the latter in letters to Giles in 1825 had declared the regulation of industries, so as to enhance the development of one at the expense of the other, an assumed power.[35]

It was under the conditions above described that the Clay campaign was actively launched in Virginia during the years 1830-31. In the West the campaign drew its inspiration from the fact that that section favored the American System. The Lynchburg Virginian (position on tariff quoted above) declared that "for ourselves we shall stand by Henry Clay for next President."[36] On October 3, 1831, there assembled at Winchester a large gathering of National Republicans to elect delegates to the Baltimore Convention. This body, led by Robert Page, Richard W. Barton and John Heiskell, endorsed Clay as the champion of the American System, and condemned Jackson for his appointment of editors and congressmen to civil offices, and for his uncertain policy on the tariff.[37]

There was considerable Clay sentiment in the Norfolk district. The National Republican Congressman in this district for many years was Thomas Newton. In 1829, after a contest which the Norfolk Beacon de-

[34] Tyler: Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, p. 433.
[35] Richmond Enquirer, Jan. 3 and 17, 1829.
[36] Lynchburg Virginian, March 29, 1830.
[37] Charlestown Free Press, Oct. 13, 1831.

scribed as having been "waged with a degree of party zeal to which our experience furnishes no parallel," Newton defeated George Loyall, the Democratic candidate, by 15 majority.[38] The election was contested and Loyall was seated March 7, 1830.[39] Then in another contest in 1831 between the same two candidates, Newton heartily advocating Clay, and appealing to mechanics and laborers as a high tariff advocate, won by 61 majority.[40] In September, 1831, there was a large Anti-Jackson meeting in Norfolk for the purpose of electing delegates to the Baltimore Convention to be held in December of that year. This meeting, under the leadership of Stephen Wright, H. Robertson and Dr. Francis Mallory, drew up resolutions lauding Clay as an eminent statesman, and denouncing Jackson for his proscriptive policy, and for his inconsistency in regard to the tariff and internal improvements.[41]

The Richmond Whig, while opposed to a protective tariff, was quick to point out that Jackson had made no move in regard to the tariff, and declared that Virginia had been tricked into supporting him. All she had received at his hands was the appointment of Mr. Rives as an Ambassador to France.[42] It admitted that the President's Message of 1830 hit internal improvements, but claimed that it "sustained the beneficence of a protective tariff."[43] This able journal then proceeded to praise Henry Clay as "the most liberal of men, the truest to his friendships, the most magnanimous in his enmities, possessing the most philanthropic

38 Norfolk Beacon, April 28, 29 and 30, 1829.
39 Ibid., March 7, 1830.
40 Norfolk Beacon, Aug. 20 and 26, 1831.
41 Ibid., Sept. 14, 1831.
42 Richmond Whig, April 6, 1830.
43 Ibid., Dec. 4, 1830.

spirit, with every quality to win respect, and command admiration." [44]

At a well attended Anti-Jackson meeting in Richmond, September 7, 1831, delegates were elected to the Baltimore Convention, and Jackson was denounced for his ignorance of the Constitution and the laws, for his arbitrary temper, for his appointment of numerous members of Congress to official positions, and for his inconsistent position on the Tariff and Internal Improvements.[45]

In the National Republican Convention which met in Baltimore in December, 1831, and nominated Clay for President, Virginia was represented by such men as James Barbour, Philip C. Pendleton, Robert Stanard, James Carr and John Taliaferro. The Convention endorsed internal improvements by the National Government, the tariff and the Bank, condemned Jackson for his proscriptive policy, and for his vacillating policy in regard to the tariff and internal improvements.[46]

Not only, then, did tariff advocates in Virginia enthusiastically support Clay, but anti-tariff men, who supported him for other reasons, could truthfully point out that Jackson had taken no definite stand on the question. It devolved upon Thomas Ritchie, editor of the Richmond Enquirer, to combat the apparently rapidly developing Clay sentiment.

In the first place he advocated reform in the Constitutional Convention of 1829-30, and, since he was the recognized Jackson leader, this strengthened Jackson in the West. "Whether we live in the Lowlands or beyond

[44] Ibid., Dec. 22, 1830.
[45] Richmond Whig, Sept. 7, 1831.
[46] Journal of Convention, Baltimore, Dec. 12, 1831.

the Mountains; in the East or the West; we must keep our eyes fixed upon those great, general principles, which are the basis of the Republican government. Equal representation is of the very essence of the system."[47] In the second place, he denounced Clay's views. "Does Henry Clay hold one great constitutional principle in common with Virginia? . . . Will they prefer the Father of the American System to one who declares himself in favor of a temperate tariff? Will they prefer an active friend of the Bank of the United States and the Latitudinarian Advocate of Internal Improvements, they who have boasted so much of their attachment to States Rights?"[48] In the third place, since the West favored internal improvements,[49] Ritchie tried to place the Jackson party in a favorable position on this question. He vigorously defended Jackson's veto of the Maysville Road Bill as good national policy,[50] but called for a loan for state internal improvements.[51]

We must next turn our attention to the Calhoun movement during the years 1830 and 1831. In 1828 Calhoun had prepared his "Exposition and Protest" denouncing the tariff as unconstitutional and setting forth the "compact" theory of government.[52] Van Buren's influence in the cabinet, the revelation of Calhoun's attitude in regard to Jackson's invasion of Florida, Jackson's toast, "Our Federal Union—it must be preserved," given at the Jefferson dinner April 13, 1830, all these things, in brief, caused the break be-

47 Richmond Enquirer, Jan. 22, 1829.
48 Richmond Enquirer, June 15, 1830.
49 Lynchburg Virginian, Dec. 2 and 6, 1830; Charlestown Free Press, Feb. 10 and March 3, 1831.
50 Richmond Enquirer, June 8, 1830.
51 Ibid., Jan. 29, 1831.
52 Muzzey—History of the United States, Vol. I, p. 345.

tween Jackson and Calhoun,[53] and thus prepared the way for the events that took place in Virginia during the next few years.

January 9, 1830, John Floyd was elected Governor of Virginia, receiving 140 votes to 66 for Peter V. Daniel,[54] and in December, 1830, promulgated, in his message to the Legislature, the Calhoun doctrine of state sovereignty.[55] March 10, 1831, Floyd showed Calhoun and William B. Preston, a Calhoun member of the Virginia Legislature, a confidential letter from Duff Green, in which the latter stated that Judge Berry, a Jackson supporter, had told him in conversation that, since Calhoun had criticized Jackson in their correspondence, whoever supported Calhoun "must abide by the consequences." [56]

By this time Floyd had become an active Anti-Jackson leader in the State. The deposition of Duff Green from the editorship of the party organ, the Daily Telegraph, to make way for Jackson's friend, Francis P. Blair, and the fact that no relief in regard to the tariff had come from Congress completed his alienation from the party.[57] His idea was, that if a Southern President could be elected, the cause of the tendency towards nullification would be removed, and there would be no need of resort to it or to secession.[58]

There is abundant evidence of a strong Calhoun sentiment in the state. The Richmond correspondent of the Winchester Republican declared the complexion of the Legislature to be as follows: Calhoun men 68, whole hog Jackson men 60, Clay men 48.[59] The

53 Ibid., pp. 354-357.
54 Niles' Register, Vol. XXXVII, p. 341.
55 National Intelligencer, Dec. 28, 1830.
56 Floyd's Diary, March 10, 1831.
57 Ambler, Life of Floyd, pp. 98-99.
58 Ibid., pp. 94-98.
59 National Intelligencer, April 21, 1831.

Charleston Free Press, a Clay paper, admitted that Calhoun was strong in Virginia, and gaining in popularity, but it denied that this strength was drawn from the Clay element.[60] March 11, 1831, at a dinner given by Governor Floyd in honor of Calhoun, there were present, besides William B. Preston and Thomas W. Gilmer, sixty guests, most of them members of the Legislature.[61] On April 16, 1831, Floyd wrote Calhoun that three-fourths of the people of the State wanted him elevated to the presidency at the proper time, but that it might be better now to run him for the Vice-Presidency, as it was hard to shelve Clay, and Jackson would soon die.[62] But a few days later he announced that he would within a few days present the name of Calhoun to the Confederacy as a candidate for President, him "who has the finest intellect I have met, except that of Tazewell."[63] Owing to the local elections in Virginia in the late spring of 1831, it was deemed desirable not to launch an active campaign for him until summer, yet July 4th celebrations were regarded as fitting occasions for an expression of sentiment in his favor. At any rate, should Virginia present him at the proper time, psychologically, it would act powerfully in his favor.[64]

During these same spring and summer months, there was launched an active campaign to establish a Calhoun paper in Richmond.[65] Floyd records in his diary of April 2 that T. W. Gilmer, a delegate from Albe-

60 Charlestown Free Press, Sept. 1, 1821.
61 Floyd's Diary, March 11, 1831.
62 Floyd MSS.—Floyd to Calhoun, April 16, 1831.
63 Floyd's Diary, April 26, 1831.
64 Duff Green MSS.—Green to J. J. Cabell, June 4, 1831, also June, 1831 (specific date not given).
65 Charlestown Free Press, May 5, 1831, also June 2, 1831.

marle called and promised to edit a paper, which should support the Virginia doctrines of 1798, internal improvements by the State, and the election of Calhoun to the presidency.[66] Duff Green was especially active in trying to establish this journal. In August he wrote to Dr. J. J. Cabell, saying that he had numerous letters showing that Virginia couldn't support Jackson, and urging him to try to establish a press in Richmond.[67] Then he wrote to R. K. Crallé, a prominent Virginia planter, indicating his willingness to help him establish a paper, and declaring "if Mr. Clay is withdrawn and Mr. Calhoun is nominated by Virginia, I consider his election certain."[68] The final result of this projected plan was that Crallé did establish a paper known as "The Jeffersonian and Virginia Times," which paper was to be devoted to the principles of the true State Rights school.[69]

The forces described in the preceding pages were not the only elements that threatened the domination of the Jackson party in Virginia during the years 1829 to 1832. There was, in 1831, grave danger of additional dissension in the Jackson ranks, for both Tazewell and Tyler were far from being in thorough accord with the administration. Tazewell, in the Senate during the session 1830-31, moved to strike from the Appropriation Bill the clause providing for the payment of Rhind, our late minister to Constantinople, because he claimed the ambassador had been appointed without the knowledge and consent of the Senate.[70] Tyler also vigorously attacked the Turkish Mission on constitu-

[66] Floyd's Diary, April 2, 1831.
[67] Duff Green MSS.—Green to Cabell, Aug. 7, 1831.
[68] Duff Green MSS.—Nov. 1, 1831; Jan. 22, 1832.
[69] Floyd's Diary, Feb. 29, 1832.
[70] Lynchburg Virginian, Feb. 24, 1831; Richmond Whig, Feb. 28, 1831.

tional grounds.[71] The New York Courier and Enquirer declared both Senators were doing what they could to embarrass the administration, and the Pennsylvania Enquirer was convinced that Tazewell had been disgusted with Jackson ever since he failed to secure a seat in the cabinet.[72] About this same time, Tazewell told Floyd that Jackson was incompetent, and that his cabinet was more so than he.[73] The Enquirer stated "That many of our citizens are dissatisfied with the manner which Messrs. Tazewell and Tyler employed in their speeches upon the Turkish Treaty—that they disapprove of the tone of Governor Floyd's message towards the President, and his supposed allusion to the doctrine of nullification, is most true." [74] The Whig declared great maneuvering was done to keep the Legislature from approving the course of the Virginia senators.[75] Early in 1832, Floyd declared that Ritchie was disposed to make war on Tyler, Tazewell and him,[76] and a few months later he wrote that he believed there would soon be a division in the ranks of the party that elevated Jackson to the presidency.[77]

A letter published in the National Intelligencer, December 20, 1831, indicates also that there was a strong tendency towards new party alignments in 1831 and '32. It states that "We have before us a letter written by an intelligent gentleman in western Virginia, who informs us that it is understood that Mr. Ran-

71 Tyler—Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, pp. 420-3.
72 Quoted in Whig, March 17, 1831; April 19, 1831.
73 Floyd's Diary, April 11, 1831.
74 National Intelligencer quoting Enquirer, Dec. 24, 1831. Reference is to a commercial treaty made with Turkey in 1830. See McDonald's Jacksonian Democracy, p. 210.
75 Richmond Whig, March 11, 1831.
76 Floyd MSS.—Floyd to Thomas R. Dew, Jan. 2, 1832.
77 Floyd MSS.—Floyd to Tazewell, May 31, 1832.

dolph has enlisted warmly in the services of Mr. Van Buren; that he and Mr. Ritchie are organizing a party against Governor Floyd, Mr. Tazewell and Governor Tyler; that the general plan contemplates an entire reorganization of our foreign diplomatic corps; that Mr. Rives is to supplant Governor Floyd; that Mr. P. V. Daniel is to supplant Mr. Tazewell; that Mr. Randolph is to supplant Mr. Tyler; and that as a means of accomplishing this general arrangement, the Clay party are to be conciliated by giving up the constitutional question, and the principles heretofore maintained by the Enquirer and Mr. Randolph in relation to the tariff." [78] In April, 1832, Floyd came into possession of a letter from Ritchie to Andrew Stevenson, saying, "Converse with Tyler most freely." [79] Shortly after Tyler expressed surprise at the letter.[80]

That this general transformation of parties did not take place in 1831-32 was probably due to historical facts which we shall now relate. There was an attempted fusion between the Clay and Calhoun forces. Clay wrote to Francis Brooke that the Calhoun men thought it might be well to present his (Calhoun's) name in several Southern states, and then throw the election into the House. He stated that Duff Green had proposed to him to run no Clay ticket in Virginia, and wished to know whether Calhoun men would support a Clay ticket or vice versa.[81] J. S. Barbour thought the Clay men should unite with the Floyd elements in making the principles of "98" the issue, and in this way weaken Jackson.[82] He claimed that Cal-

78 Intelligencer, Dec. 20, 1831, quoting Telegraph.
79 Floyd's Diary, April 28, 1832.
80 Ibid., May 8, 1832.
81 Clay Correspondence—Clay to Brooke, April 1, 1832.
82 James Barbour MSS.—J. S. Barbour to James Barbour, Nov. 22, 1831.

houn was the strategical candidate in Virginia, but that if the Clay and Calhoun forces couldn't fuse in this way, then they should unite upon some other man, such as McLean of Ohio.[83] But several factors checked this attempted union of the Anti-Jackson forces. In the first place, Ritchie weakened the formidable Calhoun movement, by heartily urging that an anti-tariff convention be held at Philadelphia, September 30, 1830, and by demanding that the tariff situation must be remedied.[84] August 12, 1831, there was a large anti-tariff meeting in Richmond, at which Dr. John Brockenbrough, B. W. Leigh, James Lyons, Charles Ellis, J. P. Taylor and John Robertson were appointed delegates to the Philadelphia convention.[85] So successful were Ritchie's appeals, that Virginia had 51 delegates in the convention.[86]

Branding Calhoun as a Nullifier, he then proceeded to point out that there were several ways to remedy grievances other than by resorting to nullification. There could be an appeal to public opinion through the press, or to sister states for coöperation, or to the Congress of the United States for needed legislation.[87] Finally, he proceeded to point out the absurdity of a union where forces were directly the antithesis of each other. He says: "We have seen these very men (Clay and Adams men) who lately denounced Mr. Calhoun as the Anarchist of the South, as the advocate of nullification, as a man utterly unfitted to be trusted with public affairs; we have seen these very men wooing the friends of Mr. Calhoun; and indirectly

83 Ibid.—J. S. Barbour to James Barbour, no date.
84 Richmond Enquirer, July 12 and 27, 1831.
85 Lynchburg Virginian, Aug. 18, 1831.
86 Richmond Enquirer, Oct. 4, 1831; Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 17, 1831, states there was a sum total of 190 delegates.
87 Richmond Enquirer, Nov. 1, 1831.

proposing a coalition between the friends of the father of the tariff, and the alleged father of nullification, for the avowed purpose of banishing Andrew Jackson from the public Administration." [88]

In the second place, there could be no union of the opposition forces, because the Clay and anti-nullification forces would not support Calhoun on strategical grounds, or any other. Clay had declared, "I am against all nullification," [89] and his great disciple in Virginia, Francis Brooke, had declared that "Calhoun is out of the question, Clay must be next President." [90] The Charles Free Press declared "the infection of nullification may have reached Richmond, but it can not penetrate the pure air of the mountains" and that as long as the farmers in that section of the State got 35 to 50 cents for their wool, "nullification would be buzzed in their ears in vain." [91] The Lynchburg Virginian declared "Calhoun is the most inconsistent, and the least to be depended upon, of all our politicians," and boldly declared it would support Jackson in preference to him.[92] At an Anti-Jackson meeting in Lynchburg, September 30, 1831, led by R. H. Toler, Patrick H. Cabell and J. B. Harrison, the disunion tendency was deplored.[93] The Washington Globe, Jackson's organ, called the attempted union between Clay and Calhoun like that between Antony and Octavius.[94]

Mr. Madison had come forward in 1830 to strike the nullification movement a hard blow. He declared

88 Ibid., July 8, 1831.
89 Clay Correspondence—Clay to Francis Brooke, May 1, 1831.
90 James Barbour MSS.—Brooke to Barbour, July 2, 1831.
91 Charlestown Free Press, June 9, 1831.
92 Lynchburg Virginian, May 24, 1830; Sept. 22, 1831.
93 Ibid., Oct. 3, 1831.
94 Washington Globe, Aug. 30, 1832.

that our government was a mixture of consolidated and confederate ideas, that the resolutions of "98-99" did not sanction nullification, that such a doctrine was inadmissible, and that secession was a last resort when abuses are intolerable.[95] The Richmond Whig vigorously denounced nullification,[96] and contented itself with asking the Calhoun men to support Clay in preference to Jackson.[97]

The third of the factors that checked the coalition movement was the refusal of the Calhoun men to go into the Clay ranks. Ritchie's "impossible combination" had proved to be a fact. John S. Barbour declared he could not go for Clay,[98] while, for Floyd, Clay was too "latitudinarian"; even Jackson was less odious than the father of the American System.[99] In April, 1832, Calhoun conceded that it was too late to defeat Jackson, and declared that "The operation of his name has acted more perniciously with you (in Virginia) than in any other Southern state; but the friends of liberty everywhere look to your intelligence, your firmness and patriotism to counteract the morbid action."[100]

The Vice-Presidential situation in Virginia in 1832 attracted considerable attention for various reasons. After Van Buren had, in January, 1832, been rejected as Minister to Great Britain, Jackson was determined

95 These views are expressed by Madison in letter to North American Review, Aug. 30, 1830, which letter is also published in Va. Political Pamphlets, Vol. 32.

96 Whig, May 25, 1830.

97 Ibid., May 24, 1831.

98 James Barbour MSS.—J. S. Barbour to James Barbour (no date).

99 Floyd MSS.—Floyd to J. S. Barbour, June 24, 1831, also Floyd Diary, Jan. 2, 1832.

100 Calhoun Correspondence—Calhoun to Crallé, April 15, 1832.

to elevate him, first to the Vice-Presidency, and ultimately to the Presidency.[101] In February, 1832, Andrew Stevenson wrote to Ritchie that there was no difference of opinion among the friends of the administration as to what should be done about Van Buren. "Van Buren must be put upon the ticket for Vice-President, and to do this it is all important—nay, indispensable—that Virginia take a strong and firm stand." [102] Floyd records in his diary that Ritchie, "that profligate son of a Scotch Tory, and the Richmond Junta, are trying to procure a party in the State to nominate Van Buren for the Vice-Presidency." [103]

However, when the Democratic legislative caucus met Decemer 17, 1831, it declared for Jackson, but said there must be a Vice-Presidential candidate who was anti-tariff, anti-internal improvements, anti-distribution of surplus revenues. Delegates Goode and William B. Preston stated that time had been when it was not necessary to state the Virginia principles, but that that time had now passed.[104] Another caucus (this time called a "convention," since some delegates attended from the counties) was held February 28. The convention, by a vote of 73 to 54, adjourned without forming an electoral ticket, or making nominations for President or Vice-President.[105] At still another caucus, March 14 to 16, Philip P. Barbour's friends made a determined effort to have him endorsed for Vice-President, but by a vote of nearly 3 to 1 it was decided to make no specific nomination for this

101 Schurz—Life of Clay, Vol. I, pages 367-368.

102 Andrew Stevenson to Ritchie, Feb. 4, 1832, published in Van Buren MSS.

103 Floyd's Diary, Feb. 5, 1832.

104 Richmond Whig, Dec. 20, Dec. 23, 1831.

105 Lynchburg Virginian, March 8, 1832.

office, but to refer the matter to a vote of the people.[106] In the plebiscite which followed, P. P. Barbour won, there being 45 delegates elected favorable to him, and 39 favorable to Van Buren.[107] Later a convention was to be held at Charlottesville to nominate a Jackson-Barbour ticket.

Ritchie had praised Barbour, but he declared his nomination would throw the election into the House, where Sargent would be elected, so he now called on Barbour to save the party.[108] In the meantime, the Baltimore Convention had met, May 21, 1832, and had nominated Jackson and Van Buren. In this convention, Virginia was represented by 95 delegates.[109]

June 12-14, 1832, the Jackson-Barbour Convention met at Charlottesville. James H. Gholson, Thomas W. Gilmer, John S. Pendleton and James C. Bruce were the principal leaders. The counties and cities represented were Halifax, Brunswick, Orange, Culpeper, Spotsylvania, Albemarle, Louisa, Norfolk, Williamsburg, Lynchburg, Caroline and Amherst. Wythe, Montgomery and Mecklenburg elected delegates who did not attend. Thus the Eastern and Southern sections of the state were largely represented. The caucus electoral ticket was endorsed with the provision that it should bind itself to support the choice indicated by the voters, or failing to do so, the convention would be reassembled, and a separate ticket nominated. A central committee was formed, and vigilance committees were appointed for different counties. The

106 Richmond Enquirer, March 17 and 20; Whig, March 18, 1832. P. P. Barbour was a brother of James Barbour. John S. Barbour was their cousin.

107 Richmond Enquirer, May 25, 1832.

108 Ibid., Feb. 28, 1832; June 8, 1832.

109 Richmond Whig, May 25; May 29, 1832.

convention address pointed out that Virginia Republican issues were at stake, that Van Buren was nominated by New England votes, and that his whole career was evasive and obnoxious.[110]

The immediate response of the Van Buren supporters to the definitely launched Barbour movement was to try to get Van Buren to state principles that Virginia would accept. Peter V. Daniel wrote to him that in Virginia, especially, his supposed attitude on the tariff and internal improvements meant loss of power, and that he should, in any address he made, make himself clear on these points.[111] John Randolph extended to Van Burean an invitation to come to Virginia for a visit.[112]

It was naturally charged that the Barbour movement was Clay-Calhoun strategy. The Virginia correspondent of the Washington Globe wrote that the Clay and Calhoun men are more eager for Barbour in Virginia than are the administration men.[113] Answering Ritchie's charge that the Barbour movement is a Clay movement, the Whig pointed out that nearly all of Barbour's strength came from Southern and Eastern Virginia where Clay was weak.[114] Yet the opposition constantly spoke of Jackson's ill health, and hence the importance attached to the Vice-Presidency.[115] C. W. Gooch wrote to C. C. Cambreling that "The friends of Barbour are pursuing a mischievous course in Virginia, Calhoun's friends mainly support him. Last winter Clay's friends were instrumental in bringing him for-

110 For proceedings, see Lynchburg Virginian, June 21, 1832; also Richmond Whig, June 19 and 29, 1832.
111 Van Buren MSS.—Daniel to Van Buren, July 12, 1832.
112 Ibid., Randolph to Van Buren, July 29, 1832.
113 Washington Globe, June 7, 1832.
114 Richmond Whig, June 12, 1832.
115 Lynchburg Virginian, Feb. 27, 1832; Whig, Feb. 14, 1832.

ward, because at that time they had not fully decided to run a separate ticket, and it was hoped that the union of Calhoun men and Clay men, and such in our own party who prefer Mr. Barbour upon principle, would constitute a majority and defeat Van Buren in Virginia."[116]

Duff Green, in March, 1832, suggested P. P. Barbour on a Calhoun ticket, provided "Ritchie and Company" did not make a nomination for Vice-President.[117] Later he suggested that all Wirt's friends, Sargent's friends and others unite on Calhoun for Vice-President, for then Calhoun could be represented as "The Whig—the War Democrat; Van Buren, the Tory who truckled to Great Britain."[118] Calhoun was doubtful as to the best move in regard to the Vice-Presidency, but whatever was done, should be with the idea of strengthening "State Rights doctrines in Virginia."[119]

There was thus serious danger that Van Buren would encounter defeat in Virginia. It was claimed that of the Virginia delegation in Congress, 14 of the 21 were opposed to him, yet only five were opposed to Jackson.[120] Thomas W. Gilmer, Chairman of the Jackson-Barbour Central Committee, was confident that the electors named by the legislative caucus would pledge themselves to vote on the Vice-Presidency question as the majority might direct, and proceeded in August, 1832, to correspond with them to elicit these pledges. However, he indicated his intention of calling the Central Committee to meet and take appropriate action,

116 Van Buren MSS.—Gooch to Cambreling, Oct. 9, 1832.
117 Duff Green MSS.—Green to Cralle, March 15, 1832.
118 Ibid., Green to Crallé, March, 1832 (no specific date).
119 Calhoun Correspondence—Calhoun to Cralle, May, 1832.
120 Whig quoted in Lynchburg Virginian, July 2, 1832.

in case the pledges were not given.[121] By October most of the electors had replied either to Gilmer, or indirectly to him through the columns of the Enquirer and the Charlottesville Advocate, stating that their authority came from the body which nominated them, and that they reserved the right to vote for Van Buren.[122] That this action had been resolved upon some weeks earlier, is indicated by a letter written by R. E. Parker to Van Buren. He stated that "The Republican family of Virginia looks upon you as the head and uniform advocate of all her doctrines with the exception of her opposition to the tariff, and then as to it, that you are not disposed to go with the ultras of the North, but to adjust it to an economical revenue system. Under this impression, she will give you her hearty support in November." [123]

The Jackson-Barbour Central Committee met at Charlottesville, October 1, and declared that since only three of the caucus electors had expressed themselves as willing to abide by the will of the people (four had been noncommittal), they would nominate their own electors.[124] To act in this capacity they chose such men as John W. Murdaugh of Norfolk County, Thomas R. Dew of Williamsburg, and William B. Preston of Montgomery. The Committee prepared an address stating that there was no design to hazard Jackson's election, that even the Administration press had opposed Van Buren before his nomination, and that the action of the electors, in refusing to abide by the will of the majority, was a bold stroke at the liberties of

121 Tazewell MSS.—Gilmer to John N. Tazewell, Aug. 21, 1832, and Sept. 15, 1832.
122 Whig, Sept. 28, 1832.
123 Van Buren MSS.—Parker to Van Buren, Sept. 5, 1832.
124 Niles Register, XLIII, pp. 126-127.

the people.[125] The Whig was convinced that had a separate Barbour ticket been run at first, he would easily have carried Virginia, and that the election would have gone to the Senate, where he would also have won.[126] The Democrats of Rockbridge County praised Barbour, but declared they would support Van Buren rather than have the election go to the "aristocratic" Senate.[127]

This long delay in nominating a separate Barbour ticket seems to have depressed his friends, for John S. Barbour wrote James Barbour in October that "The Charlottesville Convention was a farce."[128] It was still not certain what position P. P. Barbour himself would take. He had been nominated on the ticket with Jackson by the North Carolina Democratic Convention, June 18, 1832,[129] and as late as October, 1832, in reply to a letter from certain citizens of North Carolina, asking his views on public questions, had stated he was against a protective tariff, internal improvements by the national government, and a Bank, and that while he was opposed to nullification, he thought secession permissible as a last resort.[130] However, on October 24, he wrote Thomas W. Gilmer a letter requesting that his friends support the legislative ticket.

125 Norfolk Beacon, Oct. 15, 1832.
Van Buren was named for Vice-President after he had been rejected as Minister to England. Vice-President Calhoun had cast the deciding vote against his confirmation. Jackson asked the Convention to name him for second place on the ticket.
126 Richmond Whig, Oct. 9, Oct. 16, 1832.
127 Lexington Union, Oct. 6, 1832. The Vice-Presidential election did go to the Senate in 1836. It resulted in the choice of R. M. Johnson.
128 Barbour MSS.—J. S. Barbour to James Barbour, Oct. 2, 1832.
129 Richmond Enquirer, June 26, 1832.
130 Richmond Whig, Oct. 12, 1832.

The reasons assigned for this action were that "The opposition prints are exulting over the division of the ranks," and he did not wish "To endanger the cause of the Chief Magistrate." [131] With this letter, the Barbour movement collapsed.

The Calhoun and Anti-Van Buren movements having failed, it now remains to describe the Clay movement from the point where we left it in 1831. The Whig press in Virginia chuckled at the apparent dilemma in which Jackson was placed by having to take his stand on the Bank Bill in 1832. They believed that if he signed the bill, he would lose the support of Virginia, and if he vetoed it, he would lose that of Pennsylvania and New York.[132] However, after Jackson's veto of the Bank Bill, it was henceforth determined that the campaign in Virginia should be fought out on the principles of Henry Clay's American System.

In March, 1832, Pleasants, editor of the Richmond Whig, suggested to James Barbour that the National Republicans make no nomination through the Legislature, but that they let the Central Committee call a convention to meet in the summer for that purpose, for "the less active the Clay forces are, the less cohesion there will be among the Jackson men."[133] This plan was followed, and the National Republican Convention met at Staunton, July 16, 1832. Ninety delegates were present, representing 17 of the 21 Congressional Districts. C. J. Faulkner, A. H. H. Stuart, John Janney, Lyttleton Waddell and Samuel McDowell Moore, all Westerners except John Janney of Loudoun County, were the most prominent leaders. Clay and Sargent were

131 For this letter see Richmond Enquirer, Oct. 30, 1832.
132 Lynchburg Virginian, Feb. 20, 1832; Richmond Whig, Jan. 24 and Jan. 26, 1832.
133 Barbour MSS.—Pleasants to Barbour, March 23, 1832.

endorsed. A committee was appointed to prepare an address to the people, and a strong electoral ticket was submitted, including such men as Chapman Johnson, Joseph C. Cabell and James Barbour. The Convention Address condemns Jackson for his appointment of Congressmen and editors to office, for his efforts to make Van Buren, the arch-intriguer, his successor, and for his inconsistency on internal improvements, his evasiveness on the tariff, and especially for his veto message on the Bank, in which it sees the operation of that "malign influence," which has followed him ever since his elevation to the Presidency. Nullification is condemned as a "dangerous heresy," the supreme court being regarded as the final arbiter in disputes between states and the national government, and Clay is praised as a "Judicious compromiser," whose policies are national rather than sectional.[134]

The Whig press generally praised the Bank as a beneficent institution, whose death would bring prostration and pecuniary distress to the Union, and hailed "Jackson and no Bank, or some other man and the Bank," as a good campaign issue.[135] The West warmly defended the tariff, and Clay as the chief advocate of it.[136] The Richmond Whig did not defend Clay's tariff views, but constantly referred to Van Buren as a tariffite, saying that he owned a large sheep farm, and had been responsible for the tariff in 1828.[137] It was pointed out that the contemplated Washington-

134 For proceedings see Whig, July 24 and July 31, 1832.

135 Lexington Union, July 28, 1832; Lynchburg Virginian, Feb. 16, 1832; Richmond Whig, July 7, 1832.

136 Note resolution of Clay meeting in Rockbridge County, June 30, 1832, in Lexington Union, July 7, 1832. Also Charlestown Free Press, Aug. 23, 1832.

137 Richmond Whig, March 23, 1832, May 4, 1832.

to-New Orleans road would have passed through the valley before this time, had it not been for "the strange opinions of Jackson" concerning internal improvements.[138] The West was frankly told that it could expect nothing from Jackson in the way of internal improvements.[139]

The Democrats, on their part, hailed the veto of the Bank Bill as "the second battle of New Orleans," and continued to hold up Clay as the champion of consolidation.[140] Ritchie's vigorous onslaughts on nullification,[141] and the fact that many Germans in the Valley naturally favored Van Buren, were factors which helped to check the Clay movement in the West.[142]

As late as October, it was hoped that the extension of the suffrage since 1828, especially in the towns, combined with the independent Charlottesville ticket, might elect Clay.[143] The collapse of the independent ticket shattered this hope. In September, Duff Green proposed to Barbour that if the Virginia Clay committee would support Wirt, the Anti-Mason candidate for President, he (Green) would send six thousand copies of the Telegraph at his own expense to be distributed in Virginia. This support, he thought, would influence other states, such as Pennsylvania, New York and Vermont in favor of Wirt, whereas Clay couldn't carry them anyway.[144] But Anti-Masonry had no hold in Virginia, so this plan failed.[145]

Clay was decisively defeated in this election. His

138 Lexington Union, Sept. 22, 1832.
139 Richmond Whig, Sept. 21, 1832.
140 Richmond Enquirer, July 13, 1832; Sept. 7, 1832.
141 Ibid., July 20, 1832.
142 Prof. Ambler's view as expressed in his Life of Ritchie, p. 149.
143 Barbour MSS.—Pleasants to Barbour, Oct. 7, 1832.
144 Ibid., Green to Barbour, Sept. 24, 1832.
145 Richmond Whig, Oct. 2, 1832.

main strength was in the West, where his "American System" was popular. However, Ritchie's attacks on nullification and Jackson's endorsement of a "justifier" tariff gave the latter great strength there. The East supported Jackson because it regarded the right of the states as safer in his hands than in those of Clay. Yet there were within the Jackson ranks discordant elements, and these, during the years 1833-1834, when conditions were ripe, effected a complete break with the administration party. The men, the principles, the divergent sectional and social interests involved in this remarkable party transformation, we shall describe in the next chapter.

Map showing respective areas of strength of Jackson and Clay in election of 1832. Data for map taken from Richmond Enquirer Nov. 13 & 27, 1832
Clay
Jackson
Brook
Tyler
Monongalia
Preston
Harrison
Wood
Jackson
Lewis
Randolph
Mason
Braxton
Cabell
Kanawha
Nicholas
Pocahontas
Logan
Fayette
Greenbrier
Monroe
Mercer
Giles
Tazewell
Russell
Lee
Scott
Washington
Smyth
Wythe
Grayson
Floyd
Montgomery
Botetourt
Franklin
Patrick
Henry
Pittsylvania
Bedford
Campbell
Amherst
Rockbridge
Bath
Allegheny
Augusta
Rockingham
Pendleton
Hardy
Hampshire
Morgan
Berkeley
Jefferson
Frederick
Clarke
Shenandoah
Warren
Page
Rappahannock
Madison
Culpeper
Orange
Fauquier
Prince William
Fairfax
Stafford
Spottsylvania
Albemarle
Louisa
Nelson
Buckingham
Cumberland
Prince Edward
Charlotte
Halifax
Mecklenburg
Lunenburg
Amelia
Chesterfield
Prince George
Dinwiddie
Brunswick
Greensville
Sussex
Surrey
Southampton
Isle of Wight
Nansemond
Norfolk
Norfolk Co.
Princess Anne
Accomac
Northampton
Caroline
Essex
Richmond
Westmoreland
King and Queen
King William
Hanover
Henrico
New Kent
Charles City
James City
Warwick
Elizabeth City

CHAPTER III

THE BIRTH OF THE WHIG PARTY, 1832-1834

For a very brief period, following the election of 1832, there came over the turbulent political waters of the Old Dominion a comparative calm. Yet Virginia was on the brink of a great party revolution, which, with slightly more provocation, might have come earlier. The following letter, written in December, 1831, by Charles G. Johnston, a member of the Virginia delegation in Congress, reveals the true situation in the State during the year before the revolution: "The three Southern messages from Georgia, Virginia and Carolina have already had much effect here on these questions. I for one thank your father most heartily for this, for I am well nigh satisfied that the Southern representatives without their state governments will be beaten, and that with them we might gain the victory. The question here will be battled long; as soon as the result seems probable against us or doubtful, the Southern states, Virginia especially, should act promptly and forcibly, telling their government in distinct terms what may be expected from a continuance of the system. Virginia should have her gun loaded with powder (so that if necessary the ball may be run down in a moment) and a match lighted so that she may fire in an instant. If the party in the Legislature willing to risk sacrifice of themselves will interfere at the right moment, the country is safe." [1] This letter suggests that there had been in Virginia for

1 Johnston MS.—C. C. Johnston to John B. Floyd, Dec. 16, 1831.

some time a party ready, at the opportune moment, to throw down the gauntlet to the federal government. How this opportune moment came about we shall now describe.

The South Carolina Convention, which met November 19, 1832, for the purpose of dealing with the tariff crisis, declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void after February 1, 1833.[2] This step caused Virginia once more to turn her attention seriously to the tariff. Ritchie denounced nullification as a heresy, but with equal vehemence denounced the tariff, and called for a Southern tariff Convention.[3] Governor Floyd, in his message to the Legislature December 3, 1832, stated that Virginia had always stood against constructive power by the federal government, and that "the late tariff, with its oppressive exactions, has been replaced by another hardly less injurious, which only mocks our sufferings by assuming the shape of modification."[4]

Although William C. Rives was elected U. S. Senator, December 10, 1832, to take the place of Tazewell, resigned, by a joint vote of 153 to 6,[5] yet there was, at that time, considerable opposition to him because of his somewhat vague position on the tariff and States Rights.[6] The Richmond Junta really favored P. P. Barbour or John Randolph, but after a motion to adjourn the election had failed, and after Gilmer had received letters from Rives, making his position clear on the disputed or doubtful points, the opposition to him was dropped.[7]

[2] pp. 110-111, Nullification in South Carolina, Houston.
[3] Richmond Enquirer, Dec. 4, 1832.
[4] Journal of the House, 1832, pp 7-11.
[5] Ibid., pp. 22-23.
[6] Rives MS.—Gilmer to Rives, Dec. 3, 1832.
[7] Ibid., Dec. 8 and 10, 1832.

President Jackson's message of December 4, 1832, did not hint at unusually harsh measures against South Carolina, and Ritchie was so pleased with its tone that he declared "the message has given the height of satisfaction." [8] But then on December 11 there came the Proclamation against the nullifying state, the initial step which, with others, made inevitable the spectacular Anti-Jacksonian movement of the 1830's.

On December 13, 1832, Floyd submitted South Carolina's nullification Ordinance to the Virginia Legislature, asking that it be earnestly considered and stating that she was acting in her sovereign capacity as authorized by the Constitution. Upon receiving this message Mr. Brodnax moved that a committee be appointed to take into consideration this unhappy state of affairs, and to derive means for protecting the rights of the states, restoring harmony, and preserving the Union. This motion was carried, with but one dissenting vote.[9] What official action Virginia would take in this crisis was watched with eagerness. Press after press commented upon the vital importance of her attitude.[10] Typical of these was the Albany Argus, which declared that "Upon the action of Virginia, more than upon that of any other state, will the issue of the present crisis hinge," and "The eyes of the Union are upon her." [11] Jackson himself wrote to Van Buren that he was watching the course of the nullifiers in the Virginia Legislature, and that he was aware of the combination "between them and Calhoun and Co.," also that South Carolina was in a "big hurry" for Virginia to sustain her.[12]

8 Rives MSS.—Ritchie to Rives, Dec. 6, 1832.
9 Journal of the House, 1832, pp. 30-31.
10 See Enquirer, Dec. 25, 1832; Jan. 3 and 5, 1833.
11 Quoted in Enquirer of Dec. 25, 1832.
12 Van Buren MSS.—Jackson to Van Buren, Dec. 23, 1832.

The Brodnax resolution was before the House, but so many different shades of opinion were represented there, that there was much debating before any definite action was taken. This confused state of parties is well described by John W. Murdaugh, member of the House from Norfolk County, in a letter to John N. Tazewell of Norfolk. He says that "It is amusing that all parties in the House claim as the basis of their principles, the Resolutions of 1798-99. . . . It is impossible to number the various parties. There is the State Rights party willing to resolve, and maintain its resolves, another State Rights party willing to resolve next winter, when they have communed with their people, another party that will resolve, but will not maintain, another which may be designated Ritchie and company, which considers it high treason to utter aught in opposition to the sovereign will of his most august Majesty, and then there is the old Federal party, claiming its origin from the school of '98-'99." [13] In this same letter he refers to an animated discussion between Delegates T. J. Randolph and Gholson over the views of Jefferson.

The Richmond correspondent of the National Intelligencer wrote that "perhaps the same space of time has never exhibited so marked a revolution of political sentiment as that which we have witnessed among the Virginia State-Rights politicians since the receipt of the Proclamation. . . . Virginia is fully aware of the awful responsibility that devolves upon her at the present crisis. Never have I seen an Assembly exhibit a more perfect consciousness of the high and delicate duties which are confided to them, or manifest a more

[13] Tazewell MISS.—Murdaugh to Tazewell, Jan. 12, 1833.

thorough determination to discharge those duties fully and fearlessly." [14]

Out of this conflicting mass of opinion, the Legislature by a vote of 73 to 59 passed resolutions instructing her Senators and requesting her representatives to work for a reduction of the tariff, asking South Carolina to suspend her ordinance until the present session of Congress was over, denying that the resolutions of 1798-99 sanctioned her course, providing for the sending of a commissioner to South Carolina, and protesting against the Proclamation as based on a false theory of the origin, structure and organization of our government, and against its idea of a national as opposed to a confederated government.[15] Immediately after these resolutions were passed, one was brought forward affirming undiminished confidence in the integrity, firmness and patriotism of Jackson, endorsing the Proclamation, and denying the right of secession. This was defeated by a vote of 107 to 24.[16] January 26, 1833, B. W. Leigh was elected a commissioner to South Carolina, to convey to her the will of the Virginia Legislature that she should suspend nullification until the last session of the present Congress was over.[17] Leigh was warmly received by Governor Hayne and James Hamilton, President of the Convention, and was assured by them that his mission would be carefully considered when the Convention reassembled.[18]

Virginia's influence in the crisis was exerted in still another direction. Cambreleng wrote to Van Buren that William S. Archer of Virginia had written him

14 National Intelligencer, Dec. 18, 1832.
15 Journal of House, Jan. 14, 1833, pp. 79-82.
16 Ibid., Jan. 14, 1833, p. 84.
17 Journal of House, 1833, p. 129.
18 Journal of House, 1833, pp. 175-176.

that his state could not accept the Proclamation,[19] and the next day Van Buren wrote to Jackson that Virginia would balk at the doctrinal points of the Proclamation.[20] The original New York resolutions, which endorsed it, were defeated, but as finally prepared by Van Buren, they condemned nullification, and did not endorse all the political theory of the Proclamation, because it had given offense "in certain quarters entitled to respect."[21]

John Tyler, during these memorable months, conversed freely with Clay, and with the latter's friends, urging upon Clay the true glory that awaited him if he could heal the wounds that threatened the life of the Republic.[22] That Clay prized Tyler's opinion highly is shown by the fact that he wrote to Brooke in 1833 that "Under all circumstances, Tyler would be far preferable to any person that could be sent to the Senate."[23]

It now remains to point out the effect upon Virginia, by and large, of the Proclamation. It resulted in the formation of a powerful State Rights party in the East, opposed to Jackson, while it strengthened him in the West, where the National Republicans had had their main support.

John Floyd thought that "should the tyrant (Jackson) wage a civil war . . . we ought to meet it like men, who have not sought it, but it being inevitable, should be met with a corresponding resolution."[24] John Randolph, formerly an ardent supporter of the Adminis-

[19] Van Buren MSS.—Cambreleng to Van Buren, Dec. 26, 1832.
[20] Van Buren MSS.—Van Buren to Jackon, Dec. 27, 1832.
[21] Van Buren's Autobiography, pp. 545-553.
[22] Floyd MSS.—Tyler to Floyd, Jan. 10, 1833.
[23] Clay Correspondence—Clay to Brooke, Jan. 23, 1833.
[24] Tazewell MSS.—Floyd to Tazewell, Dec. 23, 1832.

tration, wrote to a friend in South Carolina that "If I cannot be booted and mounted for the conflict, I will at least be borne, like Muley Muluc, in a litter to the field of battle, and die in your ranks." [25] Unable to walk, he was brought into the Charlotte Court-House February 4, 1833, and there bitterly denounced the President.[26] At Buckingham Court-House, February 11, he drew up the following resolution: "That we have seen with deèp regret that Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, has been influenced by designing councillors to disavow the principles to which he owed his elevation to the Chief Magistracy . . . and to transfer his real friends and supporters, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of his and their bitterest enemies. . . . While we reprobate the doctrine of nullification . . ., we cannot, for that reason, give our countenance to principles in no less respect untrue." [27]

John Tyler likewise deserted the Administration ranks. He wrote to Floyd that this was now a despotic government, and he would oppose its pretension to force, no matter what his fate was.[28] The Proclamation inspired Beverley Tucker, formerly a Jacksonite, later a Whig candidate for congress, to write the "Partisan Leader," in which he views Democracy as a party favoring a centralized government and a tariff, and predicts disunion ultimately.[29] At a large meeting in Northampton County, in which Judge Abel P. Upshur and General Severn E. Parker were the principal leaders, resolutions were prepared declaring that

25 Houston—Nullification in South Carolina, pp. 120-121.
26 Lexington Union, Feb. 16, 1833.
27 Norfolk Beacon, Feb. 27, 1833.
28 Tyler MSS.—Tyler to Floyd, Jan. 16, 1833.
29 Biographical Sketch of Tucker in Library of Southern Literature, Vol. 12, pp. 5501-5515.

these people were among the earliest supporters of Andrew Jackson because of his supposed Republicanism, but that now he had violated every principle of the compact, and was converting the government into a military despotism. The theory of nullification was declared to be wrong, but it was claimed the action of other states should be awaited, and if they did not approve the action of the state involved, then the latter might peacefully secede.[30] The people of Amelia County called the Proclamation an instrument which would convert our Federal Government into a consolidated and unlimited despotism; they would support South Carolina peacefully, but by warlike means if necessary.[31] James City County thought the Proclamation "subversive of every principle of State Rights."[32]

James Lyons, a prominent Jackson leader in Richmond, when a candidate for the Legislature in 1835, declared that he had formerly given Jackson a cordial support, but that when he issued his Proclamation, he had shown that he was the worst enemy of State Rights."[33] John H. Pleasants was quick to point out through the columns of the Whig that Jackson's attitude towards Georgia was unlike that in the case of South Carolina,[34] and while this brilliant journalist denounced nullification as "a green-eyed monster," still he declared that "Never has Federalism been so sanguine and buoyant; and since the Administration of the elder Adams, never until now have its colors fluttered so gaily in the breeze: in truth, it seems much disposed, like Van Tromp, to display a broom at its

[30] Richmond Enquirer, Feb. 2, 1833.
[31] Ibid., Jan. 5, 1833.
[32] Ibid., Jan. 19, 1833.
[33] Richmond Compiler, March 31, 1835.
[34] Richmond Whig, Dec. 14, 1832.

mast-head, in token of its resolution to sweep the old Republican principles from the seas." [35] One month later, this paper declared that "Without the right to nullify, in some shape or other, an unconstitutional and oppressive law of the Federal Government, the boasted doctrines of '98 are not worth a pinch of snuff." [36]

But it is from the pen of Littleton Waller Tazewell that there came the classic expression of the doctrines of the Virginia State Rights school as opposed to Jacksonian nationalism. Tazewell was esteemed venerable by his state. In February, 1833, Tyler wrote to Tazewell, deploring his absence during trying times,[37] and in December, 1832, Murdaugh from the House of Delegates, wrote to Tazewell's son, that the latter's father was sorely needed in the house, so that they might have a single great leader.[38] Floyd believed it "absolutely imperative" that they have this "tower of strength" in the Virginia Assembly.[39] Years after in a discourse on the life of Tazewell, Hugh Blair Grigsby declared that it was long thought in Virginia that Tazewell, in intellect, bore away the palm from every competitor, and certainly had no superior.[40]

Tazewell wrote a series of articles for the Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald from December 28, 1832, to January 30, 1833, in which he dealt exhaustively with the theories underlying the Proclamation.[41] He began

35 Ibid., Dec. 21, 1832.

36 Richmond Whig, Jan. 21, 1833.

37 Tyler—Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, p. 447.

38 Tazewell MSS.—Murdaugh to John N. Tazewell, Dec. 13, 1832.

39 Tazewell MSS.—Floyd to L. W. Tazewell, March 24, 1833.

40 Grigsby—Discourse on Life of Tazewell, p. 4.

41 These articles were published under the signature of "A Virginian," and are republished in Richmond Whig, Jan. 4 to Jan. 31. They are also preserved in pamphlet form.

by declaring that when the occasion which has called forth this paper has passed away, the question which it raises will still remain. After reviewing the historical development of this union of states, he quotes this passage from the Proclamation, "The allegiance of their citizens (i. e., the states) was transferred to the government of the United States," and then comments as follows: "Let the author of the Proclamation blunder as he may, in reciting our past political history—let him involve himself in whatever absurdities and inconsistencies he lists in seeking to establish his new theory—let him reason as erroneously as he pleases as to the powers and authorities of his government—all this may be pardoned. But when he assails the faith of states, and seeks to falsify the truth of their people, he touches subjects upon which no man living could ever sportively discant, because they involve relations far above his wisdom, even if that were much greater than it is. The Commonwealth of Virginia has never transferred the allegiance of her citizens to the government of the United States, either "in the first instance," or at any other time. She claims it of them all now as strongly as she did on the 29th of June, 1776, when she first demanded it; and at any and at every other time since, nor can any man living point to the act or instrument by which she has ever surrendered it. Not one word of any such transfer is seen, or ought to be expected to appear in the Declaration of Independence. Not one word of any such transfer is found in the Articles of Confederation. . . . Not one word of such a transfer is to be met with in the Constitution of the United States, which in all its provisions addresses itself to the people, not as the people of the United States, but as the people of the several states, the obedience of which people to the

legitimate mandates of the government thereby created is claimed, only because such obedience has been promised, in their behalf, by their respective sovereigns, the states, in their several ratifications of that Instrument." [42] He finally declares that "I utterly disclaim the authority of this self-sufficient personage, the President, to denounce me and all others, from his throne, as stupid fools or cowardly knaves, because we do not concur in his new political dogmas, but dare to think for ourselves." [43]

The Jackson leaders in Eastern Virginia who remained loyal to him were placed in an awkward situation, and hardly knew what course to pursue. They derived some comfort from Madison's letter to Edward Everett, in which he declared the resolutions of 1798-99 to mean remonstrance and petition, not secession.[44] Henry St. George Tucker wrote to Rives that he was in receipt of a letter from Leigh, stating that South Carolina would revoke her ordinance, provided the tariff bill was passed and the revenue bill rejected; that she would suspend them till after the next session of Congress if the tariff bill were not passed, provided the revenue bill were not also; that she would secede, if the tariff bill were rejected and the revenue bill passed. Tucker urged Rives, in the interest of peace, to move to lay the revenue bill (Force Bill) on the table, in case the tariff bill failed.[45] Charles Yancey, an intimate friend of Rives in the Virginia Assembly, informed him that "The State Rights party are highly excited over the war bill, as they call it. . . . Jackson

42 Tazewell, Review of Jackson's Proclamation, pp. 67-69.
43 Tazewell, Review of Jackson's Proclamation, pp. 111-112.
44 Richmond Whig, Jan. 25, 1833.
45 Rives MSS.—Tucker to Rives, Feb. 17, 1833.

must come out at his inaugural and give a calm to his Republican friends, or he will have a rough time." [46]

Rives, however, who declared that "the nullifiers, noisy, turbulent, and untiring in their efforts, have made me the butt of their most venomous attacks," [47] faced the issue boldly. In a speech on the Force Bill in the Senate, February 14, 1833, he declared that the states had surrendered a part of their sovereignty, that the Constitution of the United States was supreme, that he would abide by his oath to support it, and that he would rally to the preservation of the Union.[48] Even Ritchie admitted that there were doctrinal errors in the Proclamation, but he continued to denounce nullification, and declared that "severity from Virginia to Jackson would be 'the unkindest cut of all.'" [49]

J. T. Brown of Petersburg, a prominent Jackson leader in the Assembly, who wished "to save the Union, to keep it inviolate from nullification on the one hand and consolidation on the other," thought that it was remarkable that while the objects of the Proclamation were good, and the conclusions generally correct, the exposition and reasoning that led to them were highly erroneous. Yet he could not desert the executive because of one error.[50]

If the East poured out its vials of wrath upon the head of Jackson, certainly the reverse is true of the West. It spoke in his support in tones sharp, clear and incisive. At a large meeting in Greenbrier County, January 28, 1833, resolutions were passed declar-

[46] Ibid.—Yancey to Rives, Feb. 18, 1833.
[47] Van Buren MSS.—Rives to Van Buren, no date.
[48] Rives—Speech on Force Bill. (Pamphlet in Virginia State Library.)
[49] Richmond Enquirer, Dec. 25, 1832.
[50] Brown—Speech in Virginia House, Jan. 5, 1833. (Pamphlet in Virginia State Library.)

ing that "We deprecate nullification as an unconstitutional, hostile, and revolutionary measure, tending to civil war and disunion . . ., that secession is a heresy no less palpable than nullification, and can only be justified as a revolutionary measure . . ., that we will yield the President our united and hearty support in the execution of the laws of the United States." [51] The people of Frederick County, in mass-meeting at Winchester, declared themselves ready to sustain the President with their "lives, fortunes, and sacred honor." [52] At Staunton, the citizens of the large valley county of Augusta, led by Archibald Stuart, Robert S. Brooke and Briscoe G. Baldwin, lauded the Proclamation as "a firm, temperate and eloquent appeal to the friends of Liberty and Union," and declared that "should the proper authorities fail by measures of conciliation and peace to put down this evil (nullification) we are prepared to sustain the President to the extent of our limited means and influence in this unhappy but imperative alternative to the doctrine of South Carolina." [53]

In Rockbridge County, Samuel McDowell Moore, a strong champion of Clay's American system, in announcing himself a candidate for Congress, declared that, although he had been an opponent of Jackson, his noble defense of the Union had made him rejoice that he was elected.[54]

The Jackson forces put forward James McDowell, a native of Rockbridge County, and hence a Westerner, as a candidate for the Senate against John Tyler, who was standing for re-election. McDowell was an emanci-

51 National Intelligencer, Feb. 7, 1833.

52 Charlestown Free Press, Jan. 10, 1833.

53 Lexington Union, Dec. 29, 1932; Niles' Register, Vol. XLIII, p. 318.

54 Lexington Union, March 30, 1833.

pationist, and had delivered a powerful argument in favor of this policy in the great slavery debate of 1832.[55] He also favored the President's Proclamation.[56] Tyler, before the senatorial election, had denounced the Force Bill, had suggested a gradual reduction of the tariff to a revenue basis, and had, in the following eloquent language, pleaded for harmony in a distracted nation: "The man who will settle this crisis may not wear an earthly crown or sway an earthly scepter, but eternal fame shall wreathe an evergreen around his brow, and his name shall rank with the proudest patriots of the proudest climes." [57] The election took place February 16, 1833, with the following result: Tyler, 81, McDowell, 62, scattering 17.[58] "This," wrote Benton to Van Buren, "was the state of a legislature, in which at its opening no one but an undisputed friend of the Administration could be put up." [59]

Between the winter and fall months of 1833, there was political agitation along several lines. July 4th celebrations in Eastern Virginia were taken as fitting occasions for Anti-Proclamation outbursts.[60] Rives, the chief target of the Anti-Jacksonian forces, had a personal encounter with Thomas W. Gilmer, his near neighbor and intimate friend, who had nominated him in 1832 for the Senate, this difficulty being caused by Gilmer's charge that Rives had not kept promises which

[55] Washington and Lee Historical Papers, No. 4, p. 130; Virginia Slavery Debate, 1832.
[56] Tyler—Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, pp. 453-454.
[57] Tyler—Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, pp. 456-57.
[58] Journal of House, 1833, p. 184.
[59] Van Buren MSS.—Benton to Van Buren, Feb. 16, 1833.
[60] Alexandria Gazette, July 17, 1833; Richmond Whig, July 12, 1833.

the latter had made to him when a candidate for the Senate.[61]

The slavery question flared up, but played no significant part in party history, as it was destined to do in 1835-36. The Richmond Whig declared that funds were being collected, speakers provided, and unions formed in the North, for the purpose of a great crusade against the Southern slave holder.[62] The Enquirer would brook no interference with slavery, but believed this suggested agitation was for the purpose of aiding in forming a great party in this State around Calhoun.[63]

During the summer of 1833, there was considerable discussion in Virginia as to the next presidency. Niles' Register declared in September, 1833, that more had been said in Virginia about the next President than in all the other states put together.[64]

Benjamin Watkins Leigh was the man most prominently mentioned for this place. Many of the Southern Virginia counties, among them Mecklenburg, Caroline, Essex, Lunenburg and Nottoway, had large meetings, in which Leigh was heartily endorsed.[65] The probable reason that Leigh was so prominently mentioned was that he had been a Clay supporter, was opposed to Jackson's Proclamation, and was, of course, a Southerner, all of which facts seemed to make him the logical winning candidate in a state where hostile elements were attempting to combine, and in a section (the South), where there was inherent opposition to a Northern man, unless he could be shown to have Southern prin-

61 Richmond Whig, July 9, 1833.
62 Richmond Whig, June 28, 1833.
63 Richmond Enquirer, May 14, 1833.
64 Niles Register, Vol. XLV, p. 100.
65 Charlestown Fee Press, Aug. 8, 1833; Richmond Whig, Aug. 20, Sept. 20, 1833.

ciples. But the Western papers, generally, among them the Staunton Spectator and Rommey Intelligencer, were opposing Leigh, because of his attitude of hostility to the West in the convention of 1829-30.[66]

With the facts of this chapter in mind, thus far, there are several obvious conclusions. The Anti-Jacksonian sentiment was principally in the East, after the Proclamation was issued, and the Force Bill passed. The social and economic system of the Eastern planter had its natural corollary the political theory of State Rights, for a steady growth of national power would endanger this peculiar sectional system. But Western Virginia, ardent for reform in the convention of 1829-30, eager for emancipation in 1832, was socially and economically different from Eastern Virginia. Before its eyes, no danger loomed so large as that of disunion, and in its estimation, preservation of the Union was more essential than the enactment of the principles of the American System, which it had been inclined to favor. Thus the West in its resolutions extolled Jackson, for it saw in him the incarnation of the spirit of nationalism.

In 1860, in delivering before the Norfolk Bar a discourse on the life of Tazewell, Hugh B. Grigsby, referring to the removal, by Jackson, of the deposits from the Bank of the United States in October, 1833, used the following language: "In a little less or more than six months the Bank of the United States had shortened its line of discounts ten millions of dollars; and all the state banks in self-defense were compelled to follow the example of that great institution. Confidence ceased to exist. No man in business could look ahead a single day without fear and trembling. Men spoke in whispers, and walked doubtfully, as if the

[66] Richmond Whig, Aug. 16, Sept. 10, 1833.

earth might quake beneath their feet. The result was a change in the party relations of those who lived in towns without a parallel in our history. And it was soon seen that a new party was forming in comparison with which the tertium quid party of Jefferson's administration was a mere bubble floating on the surface of the stream. In that tempest was rocked the cradle of that large and intellectual party which assumed the appellation of Whig."[67]

The effect of the removal of the deposits upon Virginia politics and society was remarkable. Governor Floyd, in his message of December 2, 1833, denounced the removal of the deposits, at the same time declaring that the constitutionality of the Bank was not at issue, and that it was entitled to all its rights until its charter expired.[68] At this time there were in the legislature three parties, the State Rights party, who were near nullifiers, the Clay National Republicans, and an administration party, less numerous than the others combined, but the most firmly united.[69] However, the removal of the deposits had increased the discontent in the Assembly, so it was thought the discordant Anti-Jackson elements would unite and pass resolutions censuring him for the removal. The majority of the Western delegates were against such resolutions, but the East strongly favored them.[70] In January, Thomas W. Gilmer brought forward resolutions, declaring the President's action to be "an unauthorized assumption and dangerous exercise of executive power," and yet condemning the Bank as unconstitutional.[71] These

67 Grigsby—Discourse on Life of Tazewell, p. 62.
68 Journal of House, 1833, p. 11.
69 Tazewell MSS.—John Wickham to L. N. Tazewell, Dec. 10, 1833.
70 Ibid.—Wickham to Tazewell, Dec. 29, 1833.
71 Journal of House, 1833-34, pp. 99-101.

resolutions passed by a vote of 76 to 53. On February 22, 1834, the Virginia Senators were instructed by a vote of 68–60 to vote for the restoration of the deposits,[72] thus leading to the resignation of Rives from the Senate.

In January, 1834, John Tyler wrote to Gilmer that the present distracted condition of the country demanded a Governor of the highest intellect in Virginia, and that he knew of no one so eminently qualified as Littleton W. Tazewell.[73] On January 7, 1834, Tazewell was elected Governor to succeed John Floyd, the vote being as follows: Tazewell 85, Watts 53, McDowell 22, Daniel 2.[74] B. W. Leigh was now brought forward as the Anti-Jackson candidate for the Senate to succeed Rives, resigned, for the Clayites and State Rights elements could most easily unite upon him. On February 26, 1834, he defeated P. P. Barbour for the Senate by a joint vote of 86 to 71.[75]

Let us now examine the rising Anti-Administration tide of public protest and indignation, which had engulfed Rives, placed Tazewell and Leigh in positions of honor and trust, and which was destined to sweep the Administration completely from power in Virginia in the legislative elections of 1834.

In December there was held in Richmond a large meeting to protest the removal of the deposits. Chapman Johnson presided, and other important leaders were B. W. Leigh, Robert Stanard and James Lyons. Resolutions were drawn declaring the President had assumed full and absolute power over the purse, and was trying to convert our free, happy, Republican in-

[72] Ibid., 1833-34, pp. 167-168.
[73] Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, p. 480.
[74] Journal of House, 1833-34, pp. 87-88.
[75] Ibid., 1833-34, p. 214.

stitutions into a monarchy.[76] At the Norfolk meeting, held for the same purpose as that in Richmond, Littleton W. Tazewell presided, other prominent political lights being John N. Tazewell and William H. McFarland. The Norfolk Beacon thus describes Tazewell's address upon this occasion: "The force of his gigantic mind was elicited on this important occasion. The flood of light which he shed upon all the topics connected with it, and the strong illustration which his facts and arguments afforded of a dangerous assumption of power by the Executive, carried conviction to every mind present, and called forth repeated expressions of their satisfaction."[77] Meetings of protest were also held in Fredericksburg and the Northern Neck counties.[78]

The West did not support Jackson on the deposit question, as it had on the Proclamation. Samuel McDowell Moore came forward to defend the Bank, as well as to denounce the removal of the deposits. Many Western counties passed resolutions of a similar character,[79] though some condemned the removal of the deposits without defending the Bank.[80]

Prominent individuals left the Jackson party as a result of his removal policy. William S. Archer declared that the slumbering spirit of the country was awakened, and that nowhere did the voice, expressive of this spirit, speak so eloquently as in Virginia.[81] Henry A. Wise refused to act longer with the Jackson party, since he not only opposed it on the deposit

76 National Intelligencer, Dec. 30, 1833.
77 Norfolk Beacon, Jan. 9, 1834.
78 Fredericksburg Herald, Jan. 11, 1834.
79 Lexington Union, Feb. 1, Feb. 8, April 26, 1834.
80 Charlestown Free Press, Jan. 23, Feb. 6, 1834.
81 William S. Archer — Speech on Deposit Question. (Pamphlet in Virginia State Library.)

question, but also favored the Bank.[82] William F. Gordon now broke completely with the Jackson party. In May, 1834, he wrote Tazewell that "I am very sure this strange and incompetent Administration must be overthrown in Virginia. . . . Some few of us may fall in the conflict, yet I shall consider it more glorious to fall defending the flag of freedom than to live forever to adulate a tryant. The Proclamation, war message, Force Bill, seizure of the revenue, protest to the Senate, the post office, the Jackson appointments in spite of the Constitution and the Senate, a deranged currency . . . is a faithful but gloomy picture of a misrule that must either sink the Administration and its supporters, or break the government." [83]

We must now turn our attention to the Jackson supporters to see how they met the second great crisis with which they were confronted. Indescribable gloom permeated their ranks. Ritchie wrote that "times are out of joint in politics," and thought that Jackson should have waited for a report showing misconduct on the part of the Bank, before effecting the removal of the deposits.[84] Gooch stated that Richmond was almost entirely in the hands of the Anti-Administration, and that democracy was at a low ebb,[85] also that "Party violence and proscription run higher than in the days of the black cockade. The election of Tazewell and Leigh, and the united movement of the whole opposition have silenced and overpowered the Democratic party." [86] The Administration party was willing to go so far as to have the President actually rescind his order for the removal of the deposits.

[82] Wise—Life of Wise, pp. 42-44.
[83] Tazewell MSS.—Gordon to Tazewell, May 14, 1834.
[84] Rives MSS.—Ritchie to Rives, Jan. 6, 1834.
[85] Van Buren MSS.—C. F. Gooch to Van Buren, Nov. 20, 1833.
[86] Ibid.—Gooch to Van Buren, March 24, 1834.

Brockenbrough conferred with Nicholas and Ritchie, and, as a result of their conference, urged Stevenson to try to persuade Jackson to send a message to Congress, stating that he would order the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit the public money in the Bank of the United States until March, 1836, unless otherwise directed by Congress. This action, in the opinion of these leaders,[87] only would keep the party from being dissolved.

Virginia society was torn asunder by this dramatic political struggle. Social harmony was disturbed, and friendships were dissolved. John Rutherford, a member of the Assembly, high in the ranks of his party, wrote as follows to Stevenson: "You have no idea of the excitement among parties here this winter, and all growing out of the alarming influence and power of what the President has so aptly denominated 'the monster.' It has insinuated itself directly or indirectly into all the ramifications of society, and would ultimately control the destinies of the country, if not arrested in due time. . . . Instead of argument, we hear nothing but scurrilous epithets, impotent threats, and low abuse, such as men of decency and sense should scorn to use. Our society is no longer what it was—partisan heat and violence are to be seen everywhere—and peaceable and unobtrusive as I am disposed to be, I shall consider myself fortunate, if I get into no difficulty before the storm subsides." [88] Less than two weeks later, Peter V. Daniel wrote Stevenson that "You have no idea of the state of society here at this time; and particularly of the life I lead. I am watched throughout the day; every door I enter, every person

87 Stevenson MSS.—Brockenbrough to Stevenson, April 26, 1834.

88 Ibid.—Rutherford to Stevenson, March 17, 1834.

with whom I speak, is a subject of jealous scrutiny. I am even now, it is said, being hunted to ruin in my business, and with personal violence. But d— the contemptible slaves of the Bank, I put them all at defiance." [89]

Under these depressing circumstances, the Democrats launched their campaign for the May elections, in order to save from the wreck what they could of their party. Their strategy consisted in an attempt to show that the opposition to the removal of the deposits was really an effort to have the Bank rechartered.[90] Ritchie, day after day, in the columns of the Enquirer, stated the issue as "Bank or no Bank," and not "Van Buren or no Van Buren," as the opposition claimed.[91] The Minority address of the legislature lauded Jackson for his destruction of the triple headed monster, the tariff, internal improvements and the Bank, but especially for his attitude in regard to the latter.[92] In some counties, pamphlets were distributed, representing the contest as one between the poor and the rich, and Jackson as the friend of the poor, because he opposed the Bank.[93] In some quartesr, it was represented as a contest to drive Leigh from the Senate, this man, who, it was claimed, was a Federalist, and an aristocrat who sneered at the West in the convention of 1829-30.[94]

The opposition stated the issue differently. The Address of the Majority of the Legislature declared that "Present contest is not one of 'Bank or no Bank' —it is a struggle between liberty and power . . .,

89 Stevenson MSS.—Daniel to Stevenson, March 29, 1834.
90 Washington Globe, Jan. 23, 1834.
91 Richmond Enquirer, March 4, 6, 18, 1834.
92 Ibid.—March 14, 1834.
93 Richmond Whig, April 4, 1834.
94 Washington Globe, April 24, 1834.

against the effort of the Executive to seize and hold the federal treasures. It is a contest between the rights of the people and the spirit of encroachment; between the Constitution of our fathers and the assumptions of the day." [95] The Whig declared that the Bank was dead, quoted from Leigh's speech in the Senate to show that he regarded it as unconstitutional, and declared "Van Burenism" to be the issue.[96] This journal further declared that intelligence was against Jackson in practically every county in the State. "Divines, physicians, the Bar by a large majority, the whole Court of Appeals, one Judge excepted, the General Court Bench, with two exceptions, are opposed to Jackson." [97]

By May, 1834, that much to be desired (from their standpoint) combination between the old National Republicans and the State Rights Democrats had been happily consummated. Clay's position on the tariff had made this union easier, for even Floyd had written in March, 1833, that he was "sort of a Clay man." [98] The two elements could stand shoulder to shoulder on the deposit question. Thus Ritchie stated a truth when he declared that "Nationals and nullifiers sat down together" at the Floyd dinner in Richmond March 31, 1834,[99] and no doubt Clay wrote, with supreme confidence of success, to Tazewell, in April, that "The time has come for a speedy coöperation of the friends of the Union and liberty, or there will be a speedy termination perhaps of both." [100] The Presi-

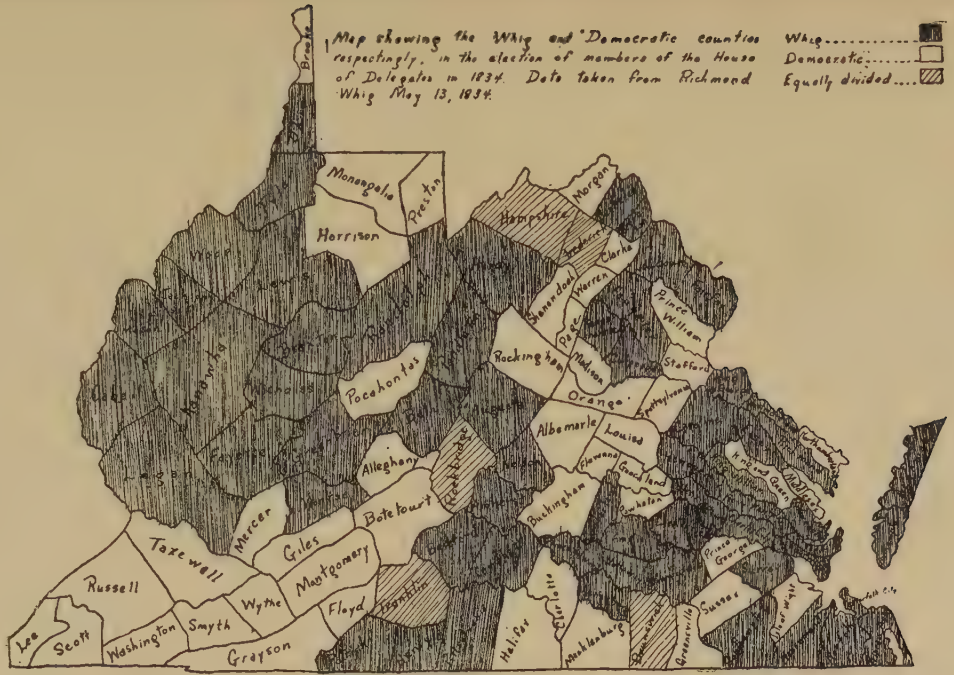
95 See National Intelligencer, April 3, 1834.
96 Richmond Whig, March 28, 1834.
97 Ibid., April 8, 1834.
98 Floyd MSS.—Floyd to his cousin, March (no specific date), 1833.
99 Enquirer quoted in Whig, April 8, 1834.
100 Tazewell MSS.—Clay to Tazewell, April 5, 1834.

dent's Protest, coming, as it did, just before the Virginia elections, hurt his cause to some extent.[101] The result of the contest, as shown on the map, was that the opposition elected 79 delegates to 55 for the Administration, and thus there was born, in the golden flush of victory, the Whig party of Virginia.

The appellations "Whig" and "Tory" were suggested at an Anti-Administration meeting in the Masonic Hall in New York, April 1, 1834. Commenting on this suggestion, the Whig thought that "The origins of these party appellations in England certainly justifies, so far as acts go, the application of the epithet of Tories to the slavish supporters of Government; those who sustain all its acts, the grossest encroachments on the Constitution, and the liberties and franchises of the Public, etc. A Whig in its pure signification, means one who prefers liberty to tyranny—who supports privilege against prerogative—the rights and immunities of the people, as ascertained by the equity of nature, the Constitution and laws of the country, against the predominance of the Crown, or Executive power." [102]

[101] Petersburg Constellation, May 27, 1834; Enquirer, April 29, 1834.

[102] Richmond Whig, April 8, 1834. This paper thus thought the term "Whig" especially appropriate here for the opposition to Jackson, but did not wish "Tory" for a party name at all, because of bitterness attached to term.


Map showing the Whig and Democratic counties respectingly, in the election of members of the House of Delegates in 1834. Data taken from Richmond Whig May 13, 1834.
Whig
Democratic
Equally divided
Brooke
Monongalia
Preston
Harrison
Hampshire
Morgan
Berkeley
Jefferson
Clarke
Shenandoah
Warren
Prince William
Page
Rockingham
Madison
Stafford
Pocahontas
Orange
Albemarle
Louisa
Alleghany
Rockbridge
Botetourt
Buckingham
Mercer
Giles
Tazewell
Montgomery
Russell
Wythe
Floyd
Lee
Scott
Washington
Smyth
Grayson
Halifax
Mecklenburg
Brunswick
Greensville
Sussex
Prince George
Surry

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE TO MAINTAIN WHIG SUPREMACY 1834-1836

Fortunately for the Whigs, the election of 1834 came just at the time when they had succeeded in keeping in the background their own differences, and when they had the Administration clearly on the defensive. Like the prize-fighter, who often renews the contest with more vigor after recovering from the shock of a severe blow, the Democracy almost immediately started a campaign to drive the victorious Whigs from power. Political strategy is the central theme of this chapter. It will deal with individual leaders, and with the numerous allegations that these leaders were being used to serve the purposes of party. It will deal with issues and principles, and will point out how, in many cases, the opposing parties tried to create issues of their own choice and liking. North-South sectional feeling was to play no small part in these memorable contests of the middle thirties.

Since a Senator from Virginia would normally be chosen in 1835, the first effort of the Administration forces was so to organize popular sentiment as to defeat B. W. Leigh at that time. Leigh was a veritable storm center during the period covered by this chapter. It was claimed that he was one of the most typical aristocrats in the Senate, that his speech in the Virginia Convention of 1829-30, in which he compared the Western farmer to the Eastern slave, showed that he was not democratic in his feelings.[1] He was charged with being unfriendly to State Rights principles, and

[1] Washington Globe, April 24, 1830; Petersburg Constellation, June 28, 1834.

with being one who, when the appropriate time came, would support the recharter of the Bank.[2] Thus by playing on the popular prejudices against a National Bank, and by capitalizing to their advantage, in the West, Leigh's attitude in the Virginia Convention, the opposition thought that instructions to members of the Legislature, gotten up in the various counties, would be sufficiently strong to defeat the Whig Senator early in 1835. Rives assured Van Buren that such action was almost certain to elect an Administration supporter.[3] In the counties in the vicinity of Petersburg, viz., Dinwiddie, Amelia, Southampton, Surrey and Caroline, with "Bank or no Bank" as their great campaign cry, the Jackson supporters vigorously prosecuted their "instruction" campaign.[4] At a dinner to John M. Patton, member of Congress from the Orange-Madison district, toasts were drunk to P. P. Barbour, to William C. Rives, as "one of the bright constellation of the Democratic party," and to Leigh as "a Blue-light Hartford Convention Federalist of the Boston Stamp." [5] In the Western counties, the effective cry was that Leigh had disparaged the peasantry of that section.[6]

During these months the Whigs were not idle. To add prestige to the name of their Senatorial candidate, they frequently continued to speak of him as a presidential candidate.[7] They claimed that he was not an

2 Richmond Enquirer, Sept. 5, 1834; Petersburg Constellation, May 29, 1834; Washington Globe, Oct. 2, 1834.

3 Van Buren MSS.—Rives to Van Buren, June 16, Oct. 14, 1834.

4 Petersburg Constellation, June 21, 1834.

5 Ibid., Sept. 16, 1834.

6 Charlestown Free Press, Sept. 11, Oct. 2, 1834.

7 Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 11, 1834, refers to these frequent suggestions; Richmond Whig, July 25, 1834, advocates him.

advocate of the Bank, and published his correspondence with citizens of Richmond to establish their point.[8] Leigh had stated that he would support a Bank, only if confronted with an alternative which he considered less desirable, and now it was explained that his "alternative" meant a New York Bank or an Exchequer Bank at Washington.[9] Replying to the charge, frequently made, that the Whigs were aristocrats and dangerous aristocrats, the Richmond Whig declares that "Whoever applies the term 'Aristocracy' to the great objects for which the Whig party is contending betrays either a total ignorance of History, and a total disregard of facts, or a readiness to prostitute his knowledge to the designs of faction. . . . The Whig party is contending for the rights of the whole people, . . . to restore the Constitution to its supremacy, to overthrow a cabal of office-holders who are availing themselves of the patronage and revenues of the Government." [10] It then declares that the term "aristocracy" is too respectable for those who pander to the lusts of Andrew Jackson.

An impressive popular campaign in behalf of Leigh was now being waged. The Whigs turned out in large numbers at Leesburg in Loudoun County, June 26, 1834, and at this time letters were read from Clay, Calhoun, Ewing and William C. Preston, congratulating Virginia on her stand against executive encroachment and arbitrary power.[11] On July 4, at Charlottesville, the Whigs, led by T. W. Gilmer, V. W. Southall, Dr. Charles Everett and Dabney F. Carr, gave a dinner which was attended by such distinguished guests as

[8] See Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 2, 1834.
[9] Richmond Whig, Sept. 2 and 23, 1834.
[10] Richmond Whig, Dec. 5, 1834.
[11] National Intelligencer, July 10, 1834.

William C. Preston, W. F. Gordon, Samuel McDowell Moore and James Barbour. Many of the students of the University of Virginia, where Whig sentiment was strong, were present.[12] The Petersburg Whigs, under the leadership of George W. Harrison, James W. Pegram and Edmund Ruffin, drank a toast to Leigh as "The fearless, able and eloquent defender of the Constitution. We admire the patriot, honor the statesman, respect and love the man."[13] William S. Archer, a Congressman from Virginia, and formerly a Jackson supporter, was very active for Leigh in this campaign.[14]

The Whigs vigorously denounced the system of instructions inaugurated by the Administration party. It was claimed that the names attached to these handbills might be "pedlars or travellers, or Roanoke watermen, or men without a local habitation," that those who signed them were "ignorant and illiterate," and that they were derogatory to honest and fair elections.[15] The Richmond Whig called them "bush" instructions or secret instructions.[16] In the spring campaign of 1835, C. P. Dorman, a candidate for the Legislature in Rockbridge County, claimed, in an address to the voters of that district, that of 566 voters he received on the instructed list, 134 upon investigation were found to be illegal voters.[17]

Not only did the Whigs defend Leigh of the charges brought against him and condemn the opposition

12 Petersburg Constellation, July 17, 1834.
13 Petersburg Constellation, Oct. 18, Nov. 8, 1834.
14 Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 22, 1834; Richmond Enquirer, Sept. 19, 1834.
15 Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 2 and 13, 1834.
16 Richmond Whig, Dec. 27, 1834.
17 Lexington Union, March 28, 1835.

scheme to force him from the Senate, but they themselves sought to make Eastern Virginia stronger for him by charging Rives, his anticipated opponent, with being hostile to the peculiar institution of the South, slavery.[18] Ritchie wrote to Rives stating that the charge was being brought against him by Whig orators, that he was an abolitionist, and that he (Ritchie) desired a letter from him which would put matters right.[19]

If the Whigs approached something like unity of action during their glorious year, 1834, the fact remains that there was not among them unity of feeling. Duff Green wrote Crallé that while the State Rights party should be organized to support Leigh for the Senate, it should distinctly state that it would not support him for the presidential nomination, and he further stated that while this party had made gains, there was still not unity in its ranks.[20] The Lynchburg Virginian, principal Whig paper in the West, frankly stated that it was hard for the Nationals and Nullifiers to fuse, and that the Whig party was composed of conflicting elements just as the original Jackson party had been. This journal declared Calhoun impossible, and that he would never be stuffed down the throats of the Nationals.[21] John Tyler, referring to presidential possibilities, was of the opinion that the prospect was very gloomy unless there could be found some Southern man who could unite the whole South, and thus insure to himself the support of all the anti-Van Buren elements. He was convinced that Tazewell

[18] Charlottesville Advocate quoted in Richmond Whig, Sept. 9, 1834.

[19] Rives MSS.—Ritchie to Rives, Aug. 23, 1834.

[20] Duff Green MSS.—Green to Crallé, Sept. 10, Oct. 15, 1834.

[21] Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 9, 1834.

was the very man to do this.[22] And Tazewell, at this time, belonged so strictly to the Calhoun State Rights school that he declared he "served no other mistress or master" except Virginia.[23] Illustrative of these factional differences within the Whig ranks is the following toast, given by James Garland, at a Whig dinner at Amherst, in honor of Gordon: "The National Republicans and State Rights Advocates! Though divided in theory, they are united in one common and glorious cause, to save and protect the Constitution and laws, and to stop the march of usurpation, misrule and despotism."[24] Calhoun himself was apprehensive that the editor of the Richmond Whig, while favoring strict construction, did not favor state interposition to enforce it, and he believed that this policy, if persisted in by the Whig, would throw its Editor, Pleasants, Leigh, and perhaps the whole State, into the hands of the National Republicans.[25]

When the Legislature met for the session of 1834-35, a session said by the Richmond correspondent of the National Intelligencer to have been unequalled in respect to the enthusiasm manifested,[26] the Whigs proceeded to gather in the fruits of victory. By a vote of 87 to 75, they deposed Ritchie as Public Printer, and elected in his stead Samuel Shepherd.[27] When they brought forward J. H. Pendleton as their candidate for the Executive Council against Peter V. Daniel, Democrat, there was no choice.[28] January 30, 1835,

22 See letter of Tyler to Gordon, Nov. 9, 1834, in Gordon's Life of Gordon, pp. 293-294.
23 Tucker MSS.—Tazewell to Tucker, Dec. 7, 1834.
24 Washington Globe, Sept. 11, 1834.
25 Calhoun Correspondence—Calhoun to Green, Sept. 20, 1834.
26 National Intelligencer, Feb. 3, 1835.
27 Journal of House of Delegates, 1834-35, p. 25.
28 Ibid., pp. 87-88.

the Whigs transferred their support from Pendleton to W. H. McFarland. The final result was McFarland 83, Daniel 81.[29] Attention was now directed to the Senatorship. Early in December, it was decided to transfer the election of a Senator from December 12 to January 27.[30] When this date arrived, Charles Yancy, a Rives supporter, moved that no choice be made until after the spring election, but this resolution was defeated 78–56.[31] Chapman Johnson now nominated Leigh, and T. J. Randolph, Rives. The vote, two days later, was as follows: Leigh 85, Rives 81.[32] Perhaps the most interesting feature of this debate over the Senatorship was the claim of a number of delegates that they had received their instructions at the election last spring, and not since that time.[33]

Though more than eighteen months were to elapse before another presidential election, yet the Legislative election of 1835 was closely connected with National politics. One aspect of the Whig strategy in this contest was to bring forward the name of Hugh Lawson White as their choice for President. As early as December, 1834, White wrote to Beverley Tucker, expressing thanks for the latter's kind suggestion, but protesting against the use of his name for President.[34] Several months later he suggested that since his name had been used by his friends, he would do nothing either to check or encourage its further use.[35] The Richmond Whig was especially anxious that the Legislature nominate a candidate for President as a rallying point

29 Ibid., p. 112.
30 Ibid., p. 82.
31 Ibid., p. 108.
32 Ibid., p. 110.
33 Lynchburg Virginian, Jan. 29, 1835.
34 Tucker MSS.—White to Tucker, Dec. 7, 1834.
35 Ibid.—White to Tucker, Feb. 17, 1835.

against Van Buren,[36] for "so much does Virginia hate the Albany Caucus System, so much does she desire to be free from the New York harness, that she had rather the vote of Virginia be cast against Martin Van Buren, and he be elected, than for Virginia to be for him, and he be defeated." [37] This same journal declared the real issue to be "Van Buren or no Van Buren—Virginia and Virginia principles, or the Albany Regency, and New York tactics." [38] Finally, it pointed to the fact that White was now for Calhoun's bill reducing executive patronage, that he had refused to support the Fortification Bill, giving the President $3,000,000 to use, at his discretion, for defense, and that he was a Southern man with Southern principles.[39] For all these reasons, it would support him. T. W. Gilmer and Valentine Southall, Whig candidates for the Legislature in Albemarle, declared White to be their choice.[40]

It was claimed that, as a result of the use of White's name, Southwestern Virginia, called Little Tennessee, formerly strong for Jackson, was swinging to him rapidly, and there the Whig local candidates were using his name to advantage.[41] The Whigs also urged that since the Electors, appointed by the General Assembly, were invariably elected the following fall, it was essential to have a Legislature which would appoint electors opposed to Van Buren.[42]

In March, 1835, the Whig members of the Legislature delivered an address to the people of Virginia

36 Richmond Whig, Feb. 27, 1835.
37 Ibid., March 3, 1835.
38 Ibid., March 3, 1835.
39 Richmond Whig, March 3, 13, 31, 1835.
40 Lynchburg Virginian, March 12, 1835.
41 Ibid., March 30, 1835.
42 Ibid., April 9, 1835; Richmond Whig, April 3, 1835.

which reveals most of the phases of Whig local and national politics as well, as far as this State is concerned. It recited the fact, that ever since the Revolution there had been two opposing parties in respect to matters of executive encroachment. It claimed that the National Republicans and Nullifiers had forgotten their differences. Jackson was bitterly condemned for his despotic attempt to control the purse, and Leigh's position in regard to the Bank, it claimed, had been misrepresented. It affirmed its championship of instructions, but declared that "Instructions procured without debate, consultation or advice, by the fireside, or on the highway, and especially those procured at a time of great public excitement, by zealous party agents travelling for the purpose, are exposed to great abuses and liable to great suspicion." Turning its attention to the Bank, it declared that "On the subject of the Bank of the United States, we all agree that its recharter is a question no longer in issue between the contending parties; that its fate is sealed; its doom irrevocably fixed. We have no expectation, no desire that an effort should be made to save it, and we wish to see it expire in peace." Finally, the address saw in the elevation of a designing man like Van Buren to the Presidency, the tendency to make other states tributary to New York, and to have its political tactics imposed on them.[43]

The Administration party in this campaign defined the issue as "Instructions or no instructions," "Bank or no Bank," and referred to Leigh as a Quasi-Bank man.[44] A clear idea of the Democratic claims may be obtained by referring to the address of the Democratic

[43] National Intelligencer, Address published in March 24, 1835.

[44] Richmond Enquirer, Feb. 10 and 12, 1835.

members of the Legislature to the voters, February 27, 1835. It is claimed that Leigh's position in regard to the Bank is, that if the present Bank is not rechartered, we shall be subjected to the insuperable evils of a New York Bank, a Treasury Bank, or a League of State Banks. It is said of the Whigs that they are "former Federalists, rising under the name of National Republicans, embracing also Nullifiers. They modify some of their doctrines, conceal others, but practice the whole of them. If they come into power, we shall have government administered on the old Federal principles of John Adams, a little modified in name only by Henry Clay. . . . They declare the right of instruction, yet violate it. They declare against a recharter of the Bank, and yet elect a Bank advocate. Some of them (the nullifying branch) profess an open desire for disunion, and declare they will support no administration, unless the candidate comes from their section of the country." [45]

The Democratic leaders did not disguise the fact that they were apprehensive that the White candidacy would hurt their chances in the local elections.[46] The movement for White, it was charged, was simply a move to draw off enough Jackson support to defeat the Administration, for, it was asked, how could men like Gordon, Gilmer and Southall, who proscribed and persecuted Rives for voting for the "Force Bill," now, in all sincerity, support a man who assumed the same position as that taken by Rives.[47] The Whigs, said the Enquirer, were attempting to divide the Republican ranks, throw the election in the House, and build up

45 In Richmond Enquirer, March 12, 1835.

46 Van Buren MSS.—Parker to Van Buren, Feb. 22, 1835; Daniel to Van Buren, Feb. 22, 1835.

47 Washington Globe, March 21, April 4, 1835.

a Southern sectional party to oppose the next Administration. When White had served their purpose, the winning of the local elections, they would drop him.[48] This journal also emphasized the statement of the Whig that "Elected, if elected at all, by the vote of the Whigs, he will naturally and necessarily select his councillors from their ranks, and modify his measures according to their views." [49]

The Whigs, having lost the General Assembly by a majority of 18 on joint ballot, attributed their defeat to the prestige of Jackson's name, the cry that the use of White's name was a trick, and the successful dodging of the Van Buren issue, successful because the presidential election was so remote.[50] Edward Lucas, Democratic candidate for Congress in the Winchester district, frankly stated during the campaign that he was not for Van Buren, but would vote for him as a party man.[51] The Whig declared that 19 out of 20 administration candiates in Virginia had not mentioned Van Buren by name.[52]

Having emphasized the Leigh Senatorial campaign and to the local elections of 1835, we may now turn attention to the presidential campaign of 1835-36.

When the Democratic Convention met at Baltimore May 20, 1835, it was a foregone conclusion that Van Buren would be nominated for President. But the Vice-Presidential situation was in doubt. Garland wrote to Rives, who was a candidate, that he very much feared that principle would be sacrificed to policy in the selection of a Vice-President, that though every-

48 Richmond Enquirer, March 7 and 20, 1835.
49 Richmond Enquirer, May 1, 1835.
50 Lynchburg Virginian, May 7, 1835; Richmond Whig, May 5, 1835.
51 Charlestown Free Press, March 19, 1835.
52 Richmond Whig, May 22, 1835.

where his (Rives') superior qualifications were acknowledged, yet the politicians wanted a man of straw in the succession. He stated that "Suspicion rests upon Stevenson." [53] W. P. Slaughter, another Virginia delegate, favorable to Rives, claimed that the attitude of New York in favor of R. M. Johnson, and "The fact that there were *New Yorkers* in our own camp," defeated Rives. He stated that jealous Southern politicians, Stevenson among them, aided in the defeat.[54] Silas Wright advanced the argument that the West would not support Van Buren without Johnson on the ticket; that Virginia and North Carolina, with some exceptions, favored Rives, but not as a condition of supporting Van Buren.[55] The Virginia delegation flatly refused to support Johnson,[56] and Virginia, as will be pointed out later, placed Judge Smith of Alabama on the ticket.

So bitter was the contest referred to that Van Buren wrote Rives that Virginia's attitude had created the wrong impression on the other delegations. This action, coupled with her action in 1832, he said, showed that she was given too much to threats, and not enough to the spirit of concession.[57] Rives frankly stated that, having been the object of anti-Administration attack for two years, the honor of the Vice-Presidential nomination would have been gratifying, and further, that in the face of a growing disunion sentiment and a rapidly forming Southern party, he believed it would have been wise to put some acceptable Southern man on the ticket.[58]

53 Rives MSS.—Garland to Rives, May 18, 1835.
54 Rives MSS.—Slaughter to Rives, May 24, 1835.
55 Ibid.—Charles Mason to Rives, May 28, 1835.
56 National Intelligencer, June 6, 1835.
57 Rives MSS.—Van Buren to Rives, May 23, 1835.
58 Ibid.—Rives to Van Buren, June 2, 1835.

The slavery question, and consequently Southern sectional feeling, were destined to play a momentous part in this campaign. The Webster-Hayne debates, intensifying North-South sectionalism, the Nat Turner rising of 1831, the death knell to the hopes of the emancipationists in the Virginia Legislature in 1832, and the rise in the early thirties of the abolition movement, all these factors combined to make the slavery question a live issue in 1835-36.

During the spring months of 1835, the Whigs emphasized the fact that Van Buren, as a member of the New York Legislature, had used his influence to instruct Rufus King to vote for restrictions upon Missouri, and further, that he had voted for free negro suffrage in the New York Convention of 1820-21.[59] One Whig paper summed up the situation in this way: "Those who favor abolition outnumber those who do not. Vote for a Northern President from a free state, and when the test comes, he will support the abolitionists. Virginia has never voted for a Northern President." [60]

Under these circumstances, the Virginia democracy set itself to the task of getting Van Buren to assume a satisfactory attitude, as far as Virginians were concerned, on the slavery question. Early in March, Ritchie addressed a communication to Silas Wright, inquiring what Van Buren's views were on slavery,[61] and was informed, in reply, that the latter considered it impolitic to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia, and that the Constitution did not give Con-

[59] Charlestown Free Press, May 28, 1835; Richmond Whig, April 10, 1835.

[60] Wheeling Gazette, quoted in Whig, April 7, 1835.

[61] Van Buren MSS.—Ritchie to Wright, March 2, 1835.

gress any right to interfere with relations between master and slave in any state.[62] In April Van Buren stated that his avocation for several months had been answering queries from Virginia, yet "God knows I have suffered enough for my Southern partialities. . . . . Since I was a boy, I have been stigmatized as the apologist of Southern institutions, and now your good people have it that I am an abolitionist."[63] Rives assured him that there had taken deep root in the South the scheme of a Southern Confederacy and that Virginia, "As a fulcrum of the South was trying to arrest this scheme, and preserve the Union."[64] By June, Van Buren had satisfied Ritchie on the slavery question.[65]

The Enquirer claimed that the slavery agitation was for the purpose of building up a Southern sectional party, that Duff Green was using it to this end, despite the fact that Van Buren had written a letter to a man named Gwin in Mississippi, stating slavery views satisfactory to the South.[66] Duff Green had stated his desire to purchase the Whig, and to establish a chain of presses for the purpose of saving Virginia from both Clay and Van Buren.[67] His plan was to have Judge Upshur aid in editing the Telegraph, but this Upshur did not find it practicable to do.[68]

Another interesting aspect of the slavery question consisted of the charges brought against Johnson. It was claimed that he not only belonged to the Fanny Wright school of agrarians and infidels, but that his

62 Ibid.—Wright to Ritchie, March 10, 1835.
63 Rives MSS.—Van Buren to Rives, April 1, 1835.
64 Van Buren MSS.—Rives to Van Buren, April 10, 1835.
65 Ibid.—Stevenson to Van Buren, June 5, 1835.
66 Richmond Enquirer, July 21 and 28, 1835.
67 Green MSS.—Green to Crallé, Feb. 5, 1835.
68 Ibid.—Green to Cralle, March 4 and 28, 1935.

moral character was notoriously bad.[69] The Baltimore ticket was called the "black ticket." Van Buren had stopped with political equality, but Johnson believed in social equality and amalgamation of the species, for "he has lived in shameless prostitution with a black for many years, and has tried to force her on genteel society."[70] His wife, said the Richmond Whig, was an African, and his children mulattoes.[71]

Finally, the Whigs determined to push the abolition question to the front in the State. The Lynchburg Virginian declared "it is folly to shut our eyes to the fact that they (the abolitionists) are rapidly augmenting in number; and that their zeal and exertions are increasing in even a greater ratio. . . . There is a point beyond which endurance can not go." [72] On August 4 there was a large meeting at Richmond protesting against abolition proceedings in the North, and calling on the General Assembly to pass laws requesting these states to stop such seditious and incendiary publications.[73] In Louisa, Essex, Norfolk, Williamsburg and

69 Lynchburg Virginian, June 4, 1835. Frances D'Arusmont, whose maiden name was Frances Wright, having lost both her parents when she was two and a half years old, was reared in England by her maternal aunt. In 1818 at the age of twenty-three she first came to America, and except for intervals when she returned to Europe, spent her active life here. In her writings she opposed generally established institutions and beliefs. She was a champion of Robert Owen's socialistic schemes, a strong opponent of slavery, one of the first in the United States to advocate female suffrage, and a strong critic of the customary opinions in this country in the 1830's relative to marriage and religion. Naturally men of conservative temperament would term her an extreme radical. (These facts are taken from the Dictionary of National Biography, Volume XIV, pp. 70-72.)

70 Lexington Union, May 29, 1835.

71 Richmond Whig, June 16, 1835.

72 Lynchburg Virginian, July 23, 1835.

73 Ibid., Aug. 13, 1835.

Amherst, meetings of similar character were held.[74]

The Administration party conceded that the abolition agitation was being used to the advantage of the Whigs, and urged that the Northern democracy put it down.[75] It was claimed that they were making a successful appeal to local prejudices and passions at the expense of national issues.[76]

Governor Tazewell's message to the Legislature, December 7, 1835, was devoted in large part to the abolition question. He declared that the movement in the northwestern states to sow discord in the South, to scatter incendiary material, to interfere with the institution of slavery in many ways, to prohibit it in the District of Columbia, to emancipate it in the territories, this movement was the most alarming tendency of the time. He therefore requested authority from the Legislature to correspond with other states in an effort to devise means of suppressing associations that existed for the purposes mentioned above.[77] In response to the Governor's suggestion, T. W. Gilmer, a prominent Whig, brought forward the following resolution: "Resolved, that the Governor of this Commonwealth be requested to open a correspondence with the executive of those states within whose jurisdiction certain fanatical or incendiary associations have been formed, for the purpose of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the United States, with a view to ascertain as far as practicable, the disposition of those states to provide by adequate legal enactments for the suppression of such associations, and for arresting the circulation of their dangerous publi-

74 Richmond Enquirer, Sept. 25, Oct. 2, 1835; Lynchburg Virginian, Aug. 20, 1835.

75 Van Buren MSS.—Parker to Van Buren, Aug. 21, 1835.

76 Ibid.—Daniel to Van Buren, Sept. 25, 1835.

77 Journal of House of Delegates, 1835-36, pp. 6-7.

cations—also with the executive authorities of other states, if he should deem it necessary, in order to ascertain the measures which have been taken or may be contemplated to counteract the fatal tendencies of these associations." By a vote, almost strictly along party lines, this resolution was indefinitely postponed.[78]

The Democrats claimed that this legislation was unnecessary at this time, and that it was a Whig trick, designed to continue abolition agitation.[79] The Whigs claimed that the Gilmer resolution embodied the will of the people as expressed in primary assemblies during the summer, and that the Van Burenites defeated it for party reasons only.[80] In the debate in the Legislature, the opponents of the resolution claimed that it was disrespectful to the non-slave states, that the Governor knew nothing of what the legislature meant to do, and that Tazewell lacked discretion. Those favoring action declared that our lives and our property were in great danger, and that despite the Postmaster-General's ruling, incendiary publications were swamping the South.[81] Some of the opponents of action argued that a state had no right to suppress such associations as were referred to. If this thesis were accepted, said the Virginian, Van Buren could not be blamed in the South, if the Northern non-slaveholding states refused to act.[82]

When an Administration man introduced a measure almost identical with Gilmer's, February 11, 1836, enough Administration men voted with the Whigs to

78 Ibid., 1835-36, p. 37.
79 Van Buren MSS.—Dabney Carr to Van Buren, Dec. 21, 1835; Parker to Van Buren, Dec. 25, 1835.
80 Charlottesville Advocate, Dec. 23, 1835, Jan. 2, 1836.
81 Lynchburg Virginian, Dec. 24, 1835.
82 Ibid., Jan. 18, 1836.

pass the measure.[83] It was claimed that the resolutions finally passed were stronger in tone than those originally proposed.[84]

Once more B. W. Leigh was brought into the thick of the political fray. After the Democrats secured control of the Legislature in 1835, and it was suggested that Tyler and Leigh might be instructed to vote for the expunging resolution in the Senate, Leigh wrote to Tyler, "I will not be instructed out of my seat. I will not obey instructions which shall require me to vote for a gross violation of the Constitution. If I shall be instructed to vote for expunging or rescinding the resolution of the Senate disapproving General Jackson's conduct in removing the public deposits from the Bank, I shall obey the instruction,—when I shall be prepared to write myself fool, knave, and slave, and not before . . ." [85] The Whig members of the Legislature charged that the expunging resolution, to be presented in February, was concocted "in a midnight assembly, where none but those of a particular political complexion were admitted," and that the visit of Van Buren to Rives, and of Rives to Richmond, were connected with the secret conclave and its results.[86] The Administration leaders admitted that this secret caucus had been held, and the Richmond Whig saw in this a further exemplification of the rule of caucuses and Regencies.[87]

January 28, 1836, the Legislature rescinded the resolutions passed in 1834, censuring Jackson,[88] and February 11, after a heated debate, in which efforts were

83 Journal of House, 1835-36, pp. 122-124.
84 Fredericksburg Herald, Feb. 27, 1836.
85 Tyler—Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, p. 523.
86 Lynchburg Virginian, Dec. 21, 1835.
87 Richmond Whig, Jan. 9, 1836.
88 Journal of the House, 1835-36, p. 101.

made to amend and to postpone, the Senators were instructed to vote for the expunging resolutions.[89] Leigh addressed a long letter to his constituents, refusing to resign,[90] because he claimed that he could not be instructed to do what was, to his mind, clearly unconstitutional.[91] The Washington Globe, Jackson's organ, paid its compliments to Leigh in the following language: "He is the most perfect specimen of the scrub aristocracy of this country ever exhibited in Congress. Having great bitterness of temper, with all the pride of an upstart, and being a thoroughbred legal quibbler, he has every quality, personal and professional, to make him a lord's attorney." [92]

Tazewell refused to transmit the expunging instructions on the ground that they required "A palpable violation of the Constitution." [93] For this action, Tazewell was burned in effigy in some parts of the state.[94] Later in the year, at a dinner in Richmond in honor of Tyler and Leigh, toasts were drunk to Tyler as "One more endeared (by his action) to the hearts of his countrymen," to Leigh "As Cato, firm, as Aristides, just," to Tazewell as one "Whose wisdom shames the folly of demagogues and fools who carp at him," and to Rives as one who "Would better serve a prince than a republic." [95]

Referring to the expunging resolutions, the Richmond Whig thus described the actions of the Legislature: "From the first act of this drama to this, the fifth and last, it is to be hoped—from their turning

89 Ibid., 1835-36, pp. 109-120.
90 Tyler—Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, pp. 536-37.
91 Richmond Enquirer, March 5, 1836.
92 Washington Globe, March 17, 1836.
93 Niles' Register, Vol. L, p. 48.
94 Norfolk Beacon, March 10, 1836.
95 Niles Register, Vol. L, p. 92, April 9, 1836.

out the printer [reference is to the election of Ritchie over Samuel Shepherd] who did the work, and putting in the editor who knew not how to do it, to this expunging of a record of the highest constitutional sanction, the same supreme regard to the imagined interests of party, the same inflexible drill as perfect as that in the Macedonian phalanx or the Roman Legion, have revealed themselves in all things. . . . Reason, the Constitution and common sense, if emanating from any Whig member, in the shape of a proposition, had no more chance than a lamb in a convocation of wild beasts." [96]

We must now turn our attention to the White campaign during the summer and fall months of 1835. James Barbour wrote Clay that opposition to the Bank was a fixed creed of Virginia, and that no man favoring it could be considered for President. Furthermore, he said, the locality from which Van Buren came had a tendency to cause the latter to be associated with abolitionism. But because White's position on both these points was well known, he was strong in Virginia, and even if he couldn't carry the State, his name could be used to great advantage in the local elections.[97] It was claimed that the continued support of White showed that there was no trick in using his name in the spring elections.[98] The Charlottesville Advocate, under the control of T. W. Gilmer, compared White and Van Buren as follows: "While in 1812, Judge White was rendering service in the War, Van Buren aroused opposition to Madison's administration. Van Buren voted for toll gates on the Cumber-

[96] Richmond Whig, Feb. 11, 1836.

[97] Private Correspondence of Clay—Barbour to Clay, Aug. 2, 1835.

[98] Lynchburg Virginian, Dec. 21, 1835.

land Road and for the tariff of 1828, while White voted against both. Van Buren voted to confer the right of suffrage on free negroes in New York, Van Buren is a tricky Yankee, to say the most for him. Judge White a plain, unassuming Southern gentleman." [99]

Leigh spoke of White as "an honest, clear-headed man, whose elevation would prove like oil upon troubled waters," [100] and in answer to the charge that White had hardly a principle in opposition to Jackson, it was claimed that he opposed expunging, the Fortification Bill, giving $3,000,000 to the President to use at his disposal, and also despotic accumulation of patronage.[101] The caucus of the Whig members of the Legislature, meeting December 22, 1835, nominated White for President, but could not agree upon a candidate for Vice-President.[102]

In the meantime there had been launched in Virginia a move for Harrison. Duff Green believed that if Virginia were rallied for Harrison, the moral influence on Pennsylvania and other states would be great.[103] It was suggested that the Whigs in this state nominate a combination ticket, with the understanding that each voter shall endorse his choice on his ticket, thus determining the vote of the state in the electoral college.[104] The Lynchburg Virginian had before this time suggested precisely the same plan.[105] While Albemarle and other Eastern counties were endorsing White, Bedford, Augusta and other Western counties were en-

[99] Charlottesville Advocate, Dec. 5, 1835.
[100] Richmond Whig, Nov. 20, 1835.
[101] Ibid., Dec. 4, 1835.
[102] Richmond Enquirer, Dec. 29, 1835.
[103] Green MSS.—Green to Crallé, Oct. 5, 1835.
[104] Ibid.—Green to Crallé, Dec. 12, 1835.
[105] Lynchburg Virginian, Nov. 5, 1835.

dorsing Harrison.[106] At a Whig meeting at Staunton, August 24, 1835, a corresponding committee of leading citizens had been appointed to carry out the aims and wishes of the meeting. This committee, consisting of such names as Thomas J. Michie, L. Waddell and J. B. Christian, issued a call in March for a Harrison convention to be held at Staunton in June, for the purpose of naming an electoral ticket.[107]

This Convention met at the appointed place July 4, 1836. The following counties, all Western and valley counties, except Nelson and Loudoun, were represented: Augusta, Bath, Berkeley, Botetourt, Cabell, Fayette, Hardy, Jefferson, Roanoke, Loudoun, Logan, Nelson, Pendleton, Rockbridge, Rockingham, Pocahontas, Nicholas and Ohio, a total of 19. James Crawford, Thomas J. Michie and A. H. H. Stuart were the leading lights of the Convention.

The White electoral ticket was endorsed, and was termed "The Union Anti-Van Buren Harrison Ticket." On it were such names as Mark Alexander, Chapman Johnson, W. F. Gordon, John Janney, C. J. Faulkner and Briscoe G. Baldwin. Tyler was endorsed for Vice-President.

Jackson is denounced for his "spoils system," rash expenditures, concentration of power in the hands of the executive, and for his attempt to dictate his successor. Van Buren is condemned because of his alleged abolition views, because he is a selected candidate, and because New York proscription tactics are said to be associated with him. The address admits that Virginia is split along sectional lines, but says the primary object is to defeat Van Buren. White is praised as a

106 Ibid., Nov. 10, 1835; Lexington Union, Aug. 7, 1835.
107 Richmond Whig, March 24, 1836.

man of "unsullied integrity" and "spotless purity of character." [108]

Attention must now be directed to the campaign in its final stages in 1836. The kind of campaign to be waged in behalf of White is revealed in a letter written by A. P. Upshur to J. H. Pleasants. He states that he is preparing a series of essays designed to induce the people of Virginia to accept White rather than Van Buren. He proposes to stress the fact that Van Buren was a Northern man, was against us on the slave question, had voted for free negro suffrage, and was for internal improvements by the National government. Then he would show that Van Buren had no claims on Jackson's supporters in Virginia, and that Judge White was in favor of reducing the patronage of the government. It was proposed to publish Whig tracts, for no one would read speeches by Gilmer, Severn E. Parker and others in newspapers, except Whigs.[109]

The slavery question and sectionalism continued to play the major part in the campaign. Referring to the Enquirer's claim that "Leigh or no Leigh," "instructions or no instructions," were the issues for the spring campaign, the Lynchburg Virginian claimed that since Leigh had announced his intention of resigning December 1, this was a false issue. It claimed that the real issue was "Hugh L. White, a Southern man with Southern principles, or Van Buren, a Missouri Restrictionist, advocate of free negro suffrage, an opponent of Madison and the War of 1812, and if not an abolitionist, only opposed to that sect on grounds of 'expediency' and using the hypocritical cry

[108] Journal of Virginia Harrison Convention, held at Staunton, July 4, 1836.

[109] Upshur MSS.—Upshur to Pleasants, in Tazewell MSS. Collection.

of 'a Northern man with Southern principles.' "[110] It was urged that if Texas sought admission, it would be essential to have a Southern President to effect this end.[111] If, said the Whig, Van Buren is elected, all chance of a Southern President is gone.[112]

The Whigs charged that the Democratic nomination of Judge Smith for Vice-President was a trick,[113] and they claimed that if Van Buren were elected, Johnson would be, this man "who had married a negress of unredeemed blackness."[114] In some sections of the State the religious issue was injected, it being charged that Van Buren was a Catholic, or had Catholic sympathies.[115] The Charlottesville Advocate declared "Anti-Abolition, Anti-expunging, Anti-dictation, Anti-Van Buren" to be "the great principles of the Whig party in Virginia. Those who support all the acts of power—all the usurpations of the royal perogative are called Tories in England: those who stand by the Constitution and maintain the liberty of the people are called Whigs."[116]

In the local elections of 1836 the Democrats won. Because of the prominence of the local candidates, there was no contest which attracted more attention than that in Albemarle County between T. J. Randolph and A. Rives, Democrats, versus T. W. Gilmer and V. W.

110 Lynchburg Virginian, March 17, 1836.
111 Charlottesville Advocate, May 27, 1836.
112 Richmond Whig, May 3, 1836.
113 Charlottesville Advocate, March 19, 1836; Richmond Whig, July 15, 1836.
114 Van Buren MSS.—S. H. Parker to Van Buren, March 28, 1836.
115 The Enquirer claimed, April 24, 1835, that this charge was being brought in many parts of Virginia, and the Whig, Sept. 10, 1836, charged Van Buren with favoritism to Catholics.
116 Charlottesville Advocate, April 2, 1836.

Southall, Whigs. The former were victorious.[117] The Enquirer claimed that the House of Delegates would consist of 77 Democrats, 66 Whigs and 1 doubtful, and the Senate 20 Republicans and 12 Whigs. On the basis of the returns, it claimed a popular Republican majority of 5,921, the vote being Republicans 24,832, Whigs 18,911.[118] The Whigs laid their defeat at the door of the charges that they favored the Bank and that Northern Whigs favored abolition.[119]

A factor that played some part in the Presidential campaign was the question of the surplus revenue. The Democrats were not entirely in accord in regard to the Distribution Bill. Ritchie denounced it as a "tariff bill in disguise," said that it would mean a constant clamor for more surpluses to divide, and commended Van Buren for opposing it.[120] Rives, however, claimed that its passage removed the great argument of accumulated surplus under executive control.[121] The Whigs advocated the bill. The Richmond Whig claimed that it had restored the public treasure to the custody of law, and kept it from becoming an instrument in unprincipled hands for the enslavement of the people.[122] It believed that its passage might be a means of detaching some of Jackson's supporters from Van Buren, since the latter had opposed the distribution.[123] However, the Whigs vigorously denounced the Specie Circular as favoring speculation, restricting banks in their operations and destroying our credit system.[124]

117 Ibid., March 23, April 18, 1836.
118 Richmond Enquirer, May 17, 1836.
119 Lynchburg Virginian, quoted in Whig, May 6, 1836.
120 Richmond Enquirer, June 21, 1836.
121 Van Buren MSS.—Rives to Van Buren, Sept. 20, 1836.
122 Richmond Whig, June 28, 1836.
123 Ibid., June 28, 1836.
124 Norfolk Herald, quoted in Whig, July 19, 1836; Whig, July 22, 1836.

A good resumé of Whig position and policy in this campaign may be found in the address in August of the Whig central committee of Richmond to the voters of the State. It denies that the Whigs are trying to carry the election to the House of Representatives, and declares it is the last place they want it. It claims that Judge Smith has no chance of election, and the placing of his name on the ticket by the Democrats was a trick. White's qualities are extolled, and it is claimed that the Jackson men praised him highly until he opposed them on the Fortification Bill, and was nominated by the Legislatures of Alabama and Tennessee. Tyler's principles and character are so highly regarded, says the address, that it is not necessary to comment on them. Denial is made that the "unpledged" ticket will ever vote for Webster. The "double-shotted" "Siamese" ticket is due to the fact that White and Harrison both have friends in Virginia, but they mutually prefer these candidates to Van Buren. Jackson is assailed as a lavish spender of public funds, a vile usurper of power, and a dictator using the patronage of the government to name his successor. Van Buren is denounced as not constant to any principle, save his own interest. "He has been alternately the friend and foe of Clinton, Madison, Adams and Jackson. He is guilty of duplicity on the tariff, he voted for internal improvements and made a speech against them, he was for a Bank as long as he thought it might be transferred to his own city. He is against the South as shown by his attitude in regard to the Missouri question and negro suffrage in New York. . . . To serve himself has been his undeviating principle. During all the change of his protean course, he has never been provoked by resentment, persuaded by candour, driven

by any generous impulse, or stung by shame into any deviation from this principle." [125]

The Administration party was alert and active during these late months of the campaign. Van Buren was hailed as the true apostle of Thomas Jefferson,[126] and in regard to aboltion, it was pointed with pride to the fact that he cast in the Senate the deciding vote in favor of the bill "Prohibiting deputy postmasters from receiving or transmitting through the mail to any State, Territory or District, certain papers therein mentioned, the circulation of which, by the laws of said State, Territory or District, may be prohibited, and for other reasons." [127] Only four members from the non-slaveholding states voted with Van Buren. Everywhere Harrison was denounced as an abolitionist and a Federalist,[128] and it was suggested that the nineteen counties which named Harrison at Staunton were almost exactly the same ones as the eighteen which nominated Rufus King there in 1812 against Madison.[129] The Enquirer made constant reference to Harrison's speech at Cheviot, Ohio, July 4, 1833, in which he stated that he looked "forward to a day, not very distant, when a North American sun would not look down upon a slave," and in which he advocated using

[125] Address given in Richmond Whig, Aug. 23, 1836. This committee was composed of the following: Robert Stanard, John Robertson, J. B. Harvey, Samuel Taylor, James Caskie, W. H. MacFarland, J. H. Pleasants, R. G. Scott, James Gray, Joseph Mayo, Sidney Baxter, J. S. Galleher, L. N. Ellett, H. Rhoads, J. Lyons, C. S. Carter.

[126] Staunton Spectator, Nov. 3, 1836. See address of Van Buren Central Committee of Augusta County.

[127] Richmond Enquirer, June 7, 1836.

[128] Washington Globe, May 26, 1836; Richmond Enquirer, Sept. 6, 1836. The Lynchburg Virginian admitted that Harrison's views had not always been to the Virginia liking on the tariff, the Bank, and slavery. See Aug. 25, 1836.

[129] Richmond Enquirer, Sept. 10, 1836.

the surplus revenue for emancipation and colonization of freed negroes.[130]

The Democrats made the most of the cry of "double-shotted" ticket. Rives wrote Van Buren that it was causing the Whigs trouble, and that in the lower part of the state many White supporters would stay from the polls because of dislike of Harrison.[131] They claimed that White had no chance of election, that even many of his friends admitted this, and that therefore a Whig vote in Virginia was a vote for Harrison.[132]

In reply to the charges against Harrison, the Whigs claimed that he was certainly no more latitudinarian than Van Buren, and better in all other respects.[133] In reply to the charge that he was an abolitionist, they stressed the fact that he was born in Virginia, and warmly attached to her,[134] and they published extracts of a speech, delivered by Harrison at Vincennes, May 25, 1835, in which he is claimed to have said that the conduct of the abolitionists was weak, injudicious, presumptuous and unconstitutional.[135] In meetings in Augusta County, under the leadership of William Kinney, T. J. Michie and A. H. H. Stuart, and in Rockbridge, where Stuart McDowell Moore was their great champion, the Whigs defended the "double ticket," and claimed that the election of Van Buren would destroy the Constitution.[136] In reference to the repeated assertion that Harrison was appointed Governor of

130 Richmond Enquirer, Sept. 6 and 9, 1836.

131 Van Buren MSS.—Rives to Van Buren, Sept. 20, 1836.

132 See Richmond Enquirer, Oct. 7, 1836, and address of Democratic Central Committee of Richmond in Enquirer, Oct. 25, 1836.

133 Charlottesville Advocate, August 12, 1836.

134 Richmond Whig, Sept. 16, 1836.

135 Ibid., Oct. 14, 1836.

136 See Staunton Spectator, Oct. 27, 1836; Richmond Whig, Sept. 23 and 27, 1836.

Indiana by the elder Adams, a Federalist, it was pointed out that he was reappointed by Jefferson and Madison, Republicans.[137]

An analysis of the returns shows that the Whigs were strong in the Tidewater counties, central Virginia, and that part of West Virginia along the Great Kanawha River. Many of the planters regarded a vote against Van Buren as a vote against Jackson, Moreover, many were skeptical of Van Buren's slavery views. The Whig Assembly of 1834-35 had given some aid to the James River and Kanawha Canal, and this helps to explain the Whig strength in Central Virginia. More than 5,000 of Van Buren's 7,000 majority came from west of the Blue Ridge. The German element strongly supported him. Another factor contributing to the growth of Democratic sentiment in the west was the aid given railroad and turnpike companies by the Democratic legislature after 1835.[138] The final result was Van Buren 30,845, Whigs 23,412, majority for Van Buren 7,433.[139]

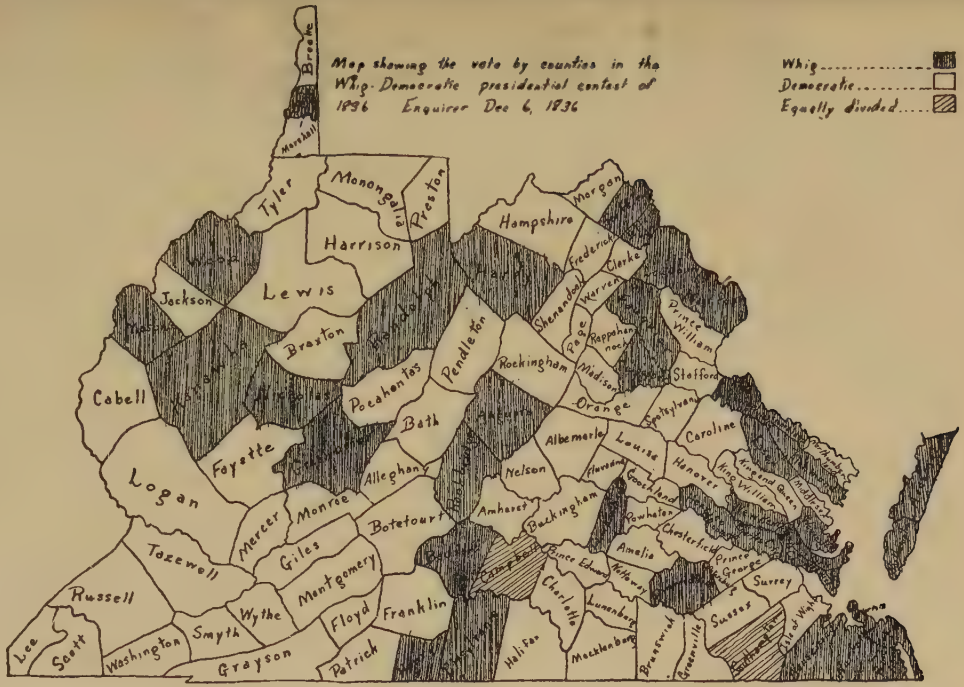
In the light of the facts in this chapter, the Richmond Whig gives what appears to be a correct summary of the causes of its party's defeat. Some of the State Rights faction was opposed to Harrison, while many of the old Clay faction were opposed to White. The latter's support of the proclamation against nullification had not been forgotten. The Whigs were not enthusiastic over either, but were simply against Van Buren. Van Buren, however, had back of him patronage, and capitalized, to a great extent, the popularity of Jackson's 'name.[140]

137 Ibid., Sept. 23, 1836.

138 For economic facts see McGregor—Disruption of Virginia, p. 21, and Ambler—Sectionalism in Virginia, p. 240.

139 These returns are published in the Enquirer, Dec. 6, 1836.

140 Richmond Whig, Nov. 29, 1836, Jan. 6, 1837.


Map showing the vote by counties in the Whig-Democratic presidential contest of 1836 Enquirer Dec 6, 1836
Whig
Democratic
Equally divided
Brooke
Marshall
Tyler
Monongalia
Preston
Harrison
Lewis
Jackson
Braxton
Cabell
Wayne
Logan
Fayette
Kanawha
Pocahontas
Bath
Alleghany
Monroe
Mercer
Giles
Tazewell
Montgomery
Botetourt
Russell
Wythe
Floyd
Franklin
Lee
Scott
Washington
Smyth
Grayson
Patrick
Hampshire
Morgan
Berkeley
Jefferson
Frederick
Clarke
Shenandoah
Warren
Page
Rappahannock
Prince William
Rockingham
Madison
Stafford
Orange
Spottsylvania
Caroline
Albemarle
Louisa
Hanover
King William
King and Queen
Middlesex
Nelson
Amherst
Buckingham
Cumberland
Powhatan
Chesterfield
Amelia
Prince George
Surrey
Prince Edward
Nottoway
Charlotte
Lunenburg
Brunswick
Greensville
Sussex
Isle of Wight
Halifax
Mecklenburg

CHAPTER V

THE CONSERVATIVE REVOLT OF 1837-1839

THE opponents of Jackson, though defeated in 1836, were not destined to wait long before they could find ample cause, certainly in their own estimation, for criticism of the policies of Van Buren, Jackson's designated successor.

Almost immediately after the new President's inauguration the country found itself in a state of depression which had been caused by overspeculation, reckless banking, bad crops and, in the opinion of many, by the issuing of the Specie Circular and the deposit of the surplus revenue. Banks everywhere having suspended specie payments as a result of the panic, Van Buren found himself compelled to call Congress in extra session in September, 1837, in order to remedy the financial situation.[1]

With these few important facts in mind, we wish to see first of all, what the Conservative movement was in this state. Then we shall show how it tangled the party situation here, how it came to be connected, to a great extent, with the fortunes of one man, William C. Rives, and finally, how it came to be entangled with National politics.

As early as April, 1837, Van Buren wrote Rives that "The situation of the Western and Southwestern Banks, and their relation to the government, presents matters of the gravest consideration, . . . and "We must take care that we are not obliged to meet Con-

[1] Muzzey—History of United States, Vol. I, pp. 394-395.

gress and the advocates of a United States Bank, with broken Deposit Banks and unavailable funds." [2]

What Rives' financial views were was not definitely known, but it was frequently claimed during the early months of 1837 that he and Benton, both future presidential aspirants, had broken over the "hard money" question,[3] and Rives frankly stated to Van Buren that he regarded the Specie Circular as of no financial value, and as of positive harm politically.[4] Van Buren continued to seek the advice of Rives in regard to fiscal questions and urged him to write Buchanan, Tallmadge, Wright and others urging conciliation rather than strife over such questions.[5] The Senator from Virginia was constantly reminded in his own state that the design of the Whigs was a National Bank, and was as constantly requested to state what he would do to avoid it.[6] Finally Rives wrote the President, stating clearly his views. He agreed with Van Buren that there were three possible methods of solving the fiscal problem: First, by establishing a National Bank; second, by maintaining the present system of Deposit Banks, with improvements, and third, by a total disconnection of the government from banks or bank paper. The first of these he opposed as impracticable and unconstitutional. He had always believed, however, that "state banks, under proper regulation, were adequate to all the fiscal wants of the government, and might be made useful auxiliaries in the improvement of the actual currency of the country." The third plan he regarded as visionary, as providing one currency for

2 Rives MSS.—Van Buren to Rives, April 10, 1837.
3 Whig, Feb. 3, 1837; Enquirer, March 9, April 11, 1837.
4 Rives MSS.—Rives to Van Buren, April 17, 1837.
5 Ibid.—Van Buren to Rives, May 25, 1837.
6 Rives MSS.—Ritchie to Rives, April 26, 1837; John M. Mason to Rives, May 18, 1837.

the government and another for the people, and hence as calculated to cut the bonds of common interest between the governors and the governed.[7]

In the meantime, other factors were aiding in giving definite form and shape to the Conservative movement here. May 15, the Richmond banks suspended specie payments, and since this step, under the law, called for a revocation of their charters, and prohibited their notes from being receivable in payments to the State, the Governor, David Campbell, was forced to call a special session of the Legislature to meet this situation.[8] In his message to the special session, the Governor emphasized the fact that we had long since had the banking system and that it had come to stay. Though, he said, there were those who would have no banks, state or federal, and who were for enforcing an exclusive metallic currency, yet the matter was wholly impracticable. State banks under proper supervision, he thought to be the only safeguard against a dangerous national institution.[9] Campbell informed Rives that the people of Virginia, almost with unanimity, favored the latter's currency views,[10] and he stated just after his message that pressure had been brought to bear upon him from Washington to advocate the "hard money" system.[11] The Legislature, in response to the wishes of the Executive, allowed the banks to suspend specie payments until March 1, 1838.[12]

The Whigs during the spring months of 1837 continued to talk of executive usurpation and of the finan-

7 Van Buren MSS.—Rives to Van Buren, June 3, 1837.
8 Richmond Whig, May 16, 1837; National Intelligencer, June 14, 1837.
9 Journal of House of Delegates, 1837, p. 4.
10 Rives MSS.—Campbell to Rives, June 29, 1837.
11 Ibid.—Campbell to Rives, June 15, 1837.
12 Richmond Whig, June 23, 1837.

cial ills which they claimed the Jackson administration had brought upon the country. The Richmond Whig pointed with pride to the fact that in July 4th celebrations at William and Mary and Hampden-Sydney, Washington College and the University, executive usurpation had been denounced, and scarcely an administration voice had been raised,[13] which comment drew from the Norfolk Beacon the remark that in every struggle for the rights of man, the people had been on one side, the colleges on the other.[14] The Virginia banks, said the Whigs, would not have been forced to suspend specie payments, had it not been for the Golden Humbug," and the "wicked experiment."[15] The "Pet Banks" came in for a special share of criticism. It was claimed that the instructions of the Treasury Department to these banks in October, 1833, to afford increased facilities to the commercial, and to the other classes of the country, had been responsible for our distress, and that if the operations of these banks were investigated, there would be revealed a favoritism to officeholders and land speculators unparalleled in our history.[16] The Whigs, in some cases, advocated a National Bank,[17] but their leading organ, the Richmond Whig, stated that since they were in a minority, their policy would be destructive, and that they would leave it to those who got us in these difficulties to offer a constructive plan.[18]

Because of the suspension of marked political activity following the election of 1836, the Democrats won in the legislative elections of 1837 without a warm

13 Ibid., July 18, 1837.
14 Quoted in Whig, July 21, 1837.
15 Staunton Spectator, May 18, 1837.
16 Richmond Whig, June 13 and 20, 1837.
17 Lynchburg Virginian, Aug. 3, 1837.
18 Richmond Whig, May 23, June 16, 1837.

contest.[19] Yet the financial questions were soon to place them in a quandary. Though Ritchie contended that the Specie Circular stopped the rage for speculation in public lands, and though he claimed that the Whigs condemned it as part of their plan for the re-establishment of the Bank, still he admitted that it was now an agent of doubtful effectiveness, and hence should be modified or revoked.[20] He soon began the advocacy of a system of Special Deposit state banks, but despite his pleading, regretfully acknowledged his inability to get Rives to consent to this plan.[21]

The Virginia Democracy had experienced a hard task, during the year 1835-36, in convincing its supporters that Van Buren was right on the abolition question, and now it was confronted with the serious task of keeping the party intact in regard to his financial policy. As early as May, Dr. John Brockenbrough, President of the Bank of Virginia, had advocated some measure independent of banks incorporated by states.[22] In August he informed Van Buren that "Our party seems to be battling on the brink of a dangerous precipice, and unless we continue united, we must fall over." He then stated that he heartily prefers the Sub-Treasury scheme to the Deposit Bank system, but that he was so anxious for harmony that he has suggested to Ritchie the proposition for a convention of state banks. He, with reluctance, opposed state banks for public deposits, because they involved the want of a cementing principle, disregarded public convenience, and refused to unite in the receipt of each

[19] National Intelligencer, May 2, 1837.
[20] Richmond Enquirer, April 21 and 25, 1837.
[21] Rives MSS.—Ritchie to Rives, June 5, 1837.
[22] Van Buren MSS.—Brockenbrough to Van Buren, May 22, 1837.

other's paper on fair and liberal terms.[23] Ritchie heartily subscribed to the idea of a convention of state banks to deliberate on the question of resuming specie payments,[24] and declared that the state banks had suspended specie payments under unparalleled circumstances, not likely to occur again.[25]

Ritchie did not hesitate to tell Van Buren, that though he hated to part company with Judge Parker and Brockenbrough, yet he, Rives, Nicholas, James Garland, and Rawlings, President of the Farmer's Bank, were all against the Sub-Treasury, and that the majority of the Democratic party in Virginia was.[26] James Garland was a Democratic Congressman from Virginia. He had written to the Madisonian in August that he was opposed to the Sub-Treasury and the Bank, and would resign before voting for either.[27] Van Buren was informed that the Conservatives in Virginia, unlike those in New York, were not disposed to join the Whigs, but were his sincere friends. He was urged not to denounce them, and even to write a confidential letter that might be used to advantage with them.[28]

By the late summer and the early fall months of 1837, the Conservative movement had been definitely launched. Under the title of "Camillus," there appeared a series of articles in the Enquirer in August, in which the Sub-Treasury scheme was denounced as hostile to state institutions, as providing an unsafe depository for the public money, as a surrender of the purse to the executive, and as a system which would

23 Ibid.—Brockenbrough to Van Buren, Aug. 7, 1837.
24 Richmond Enquirer, Aug. 4, 1837.
25 Ibid., Aug. 18, 1837.
26 Van Buren MSS.—Ritchie to Van Buren, Aug. 20, 1837.
27 Madisonian, Aug. 16, 1837.
28 Van Buren MSS.—R. E. Parker to Van Buren, Nov. 11, 1837.

finally lead to the establishment of a National Bank.[29] The Whigs added fuel to the flames by denouncing the proposed scheme as a union of the purse and the ruling power, and by generally frankly refusing to propose any scheme.[30] The Albemarle Whigs, led by T. W. Gilmer, V. W. Southall, Frank Carr and Hugh Minor, openly endorsed the Special Deposit System.[31] After Van Buren's special message of September 4, 1837, urging the divorce of government from banks, the fight became more intense. The Madisonian, the newly launched Conservative organ at Washington, called on Virginia to take the lead in opposing this revolutionary scheme.[32] At a well attended meeting in Charlottesville, early in August, Rives' course was endorsed, but it was claimed there was no intention of deserting the Administration. They wanted it to know the voice of the people.[33]

Governor Campbell, in his message to the Legislature January 1, 1838, gave additional momentum to the Conservative movement. He defended the state banking system, declared it was not the cause of our present evils, but that policies of the general government such as the Specie Circular, the too rapid distribution of the surplus revenue, and the inducements to banks selected as depositories to discount liberally, were the true causes of our present depression. He further declared that the idea of an exclusive metallic currency, considering the limited supply of precious metals in the world, and the vast amount of trade, "must be re-

[29] Richmond Enquirer, Aug. 8, 1837. The writer who assumed this appellation was James Garland.

[30] Richmond Whig, Aug. 4, Sept. 5, 1837. See account of speech of James Barbour in Richmond Enquirer, Aug. 29, 1837.

[31] Lynchburg Virginian, Dec. 12, 1837.

[32] Madisonian, Sept. 21, 1837.

[33] Richmond Whig, Nov. 14, 1837.

garded as altogether behind the progress of the age." [34] These principles, thought the Virginia Free Press, were all good Whig doctrines.[35] The Winchester Virginian, a Democratic Journal under the control of Judge Parker, took a different view of the message. It inclined too strongly to a defense of the banking system, and this system it thought to be of doubtful advantage to any community, or at best a necessary evil. It pointed out the fact that the County of Frederick, as fertile as Augusta, and more easily accessible to markets, was not as prosperous as the latter, though the former had two banks, and the latter none.[36]

Since Rives was the leader of national prominence connected with the Conservative revolt in this state, it is well to inquire more fully than has been done into his views. In the debate on the Sub-Treasury in the Senate, February 6 and 7, 1838, Rives spoke, in part, as follows: "Its (the Sub-Treasury's) fundamental and vital principle is to collect the public revenue in gold and silver only, out of a circulation consisting exclusively now, and mainly at all times, of bank paper for the common use of the people. Of this invidious discrimination between the money of the government and the money of the people, and its anti-Republican and injurious tendencies, I had an opportunity of stating my views very fully during the last session of Congress. . . . It was shown, in my judgment, most conclusively that the effect of this principle would be permanently to create two currencies in the country—one and that the better one for the government, another and inferior one for the people—and it would thus separate the interests of the governors from those

34 Journal of House of Delegates, pp. 8-9.
35 Charlestown Free Press, Jan. 11, 1838.
36 Winchester Virginian, Jan. 11, 1838.

of the governed, destroying that bond of sympathy and common feeling between them which is the best, if not the only, security for a sound administration of public affairs—that it would indefinitely protract the present derangement of the currency and deliver it over finally to a state of hopeless and irremediable disorder —and that its operation upon the institutions of the states would be of the most hostile and destructive character." He declared also that "The testimony of history then, as well as the nature of things, proves that the organization instituted by this bill, would work as a great government bank—buying and selling exchange—under that form, at least, discounting mercantile paper—receiving deposits, public and private —and circulating a paper money of its own. Now, I would appeal to every friend of the liberties of this country and ask him if he would willingly see so formidable a union of the moneyed and political power consummated in the hands of the government. . . . It would be a National Bank under the worst possible form." Rives proposed as a substitute a small number of state banks for receiving deposits, these banks to be selected by the Secretary of the Treasury, but approved and supervised by Congress. They would be required to make a weekly settlement with banks in their vicinities with whom they had transactions, and to receive and credit as cash the notes of each other in payment of the public revenue, wherever so tendered.[37]

Thus far an attempt has been made to portray the nature and character of the Conservative movement. In doing this it was necessary to point out the Whig position or attitude on the fiscal question, and that taken by the Van Buren faction and the Ritchie fac-

[37] Speech of Rives in opposition to Sub-Treasury, Feb. 6 and 7, 1838. Pamphlet in Virginia State Library.

tions, respectively. It would seem that Ritchie's plan in regard to the public revenue (the special deposit system) was strikingly similar to Rives'. But there was a difference. The Winchester Virginian, though an Administration paper, was by no means enthusiastic over the Sub-Treasury, and was willing to support a state deposit system, provided the public money was not used as the basis of banking operations.[38] It declared that the only reason it opposed Mr. Rives' substitute was because it did not provide for the entire separation of the revenue from the use of the banks as the basis of their discounting operations, while it claimed Ritchie's plan did provide for such a separation.[39] There occurred in this same paper a series of articles over the signatures "Plilo" and "Roane." These consisted of an effort to refute the charges against the Sub-Treasury, and to show that the true Whig policy was the incorporation of a National Bank, that of the Conservatives the use of state banks, while both favored the use of public money for private purposes as opposed to the Republican position of avoiding this very thing.[40] They claimed further that Rives' twenty-five deposit banks would form a league which would harm other banks more than the Sub-Treasury would.[41]

Not only would this factional strife within the Democratic party naturally create interest in the legislative contest of 1838, but the fact that Rives' term as Senator was to expire March 4, 1839,[42] and that this Legislature to be chosen would choose his successor, gave an added interest to the election. There had not

38 Winchester Virginian, Feb. 8, 1838.
39 Ibid., March 7, April 18, 1838.
40 Ibid., April 18 and 25, 1838.
41 Ibid., May 2, 1838.
42 Tyler—Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, p. 587.

up to this time been any union between the Whigs and any of the discordant elements in the Democratic party. While in some quarters the Whigs had spoken of Rives in friendly terms,[43] yet the chief spokesman of that party, the Richmond Whig, denounced him in bitter terms,[44] and spoke of the Conservatives as "That forlorn and terror-stricken squad of tertium quids." [45]

Ritchie had not deserted the Administration. His position was a somewhat peculiar one. He declared he would always oppose the Sub-Treasury, but that he would not break with Van Buren over this one matter of policy.[46] He urged that there should be "Union, harmony, self-denial, concession—everything for the cause, nothing for men," [47] and he asked the voters to forget the distinction between Sub-Treasury men and Conservatives, but to remember that the issue was "Henry Clay and the Bank, or Van Buren and no Bank." [48] Despite Ritchie's plea for "Union, conciliation," etc., the Conservatives in the Legislature met in February and resolved to fight to a finish.[49]

The defiant attitude of this faction is best shown by the following extract from a letter written by John M. Patton, Representative in Congress, to his constituents in the counties of Orange, Spotsylvania, Culpeper, Madison, Rappahannock and Greene: "In the conflicts of opinion and struggles of party which have grown out of, and been connected with, the currency question, a small division of the Administration party have been placed in opposition to the great body of

[43] Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 16, 1837, March 19, 1838.
[44] Richmond Whig, Oct. 13, 1837.
[45] Ibid., Feb. 2, 1838.
[46] Richmond Enquirer, Jan. 27, 1838.
[47] Ibid., Jan. 30, 1838.
[48] Ibid., March 24, 1838.
[49] Richmond Whig, Feb. 23, 1838.

that party, at least among the politicians. They have thrown off the shackles of party, in those conflicts and struggles, in spite of the terrors of denunciation. Although diminutive in number, they have proved themselves gallant in spirit. . . . They have saved the country from ruin in the present crisis, and they will merit as a compliment the cognomen of 'Conservatives,' cast on them originally by way of reproach. . . . As far as I have any party associations and affinities, I am with them." [50]

The result of the election was a Whig victory, the Enquirer admitted, but it derived some consolation from the fact that the Senate was still Republican, which meant that Roane, the other Senator from Virginia, could not be instructed out of his seat, nor could resolutions in favor of a Bank be passed.[51] The vote on joint ballot, as given by this paper, was as follows: Administration 83, Whigs 81, doubtful 2.[52] But later (as we shall point out) the Conservatives issued an address, signed by fourteen members of the Legislature, and these the Enquirer included in the Administration total.

The Democrats did not hesitate to charge that Ritchie lost the election for them. The Petersburg Constellation declared that Virginia was for a total separation of Bank and State, and that nothing had harmed the Democrats so much as the Enquirer's conveying an erroneous impression to the country.[53] John Letcher stated as his opinion that Ritchie and Rives were to blame for the loss of Virginia, and also that he was convinced now that Rives would lose in the

50 The address is published in Enquirer April 20, 1838.
51 Richmond Enquirer, May 1, 1838.
52 Ibid., May 18, 1838.
53 Petersburg Constellation, June 15, 1838.

Senatorial race, since the Whigs would vote for one in their own ranks.[54]

The matter of most speculation after the spring election for the remainder of the year was whether there would be an alliance between the Whigs and the Conservatives. The Conservatives claimed that if Rives were a candidate for the Senate, no out and out Whig could be elected, but they suggested that the Whigs and the Conservatives combined could elect Rives.[55] Both of the major parties courted the favor of the Conservatives. The Whigs reminded them that they were a very small party, but that they stood with the Whigs in common opposition to the Administration, and that by the law of proportion, the smaller group always made concessions to the larger.[56] During the latter part of July, Mr. Van Buren made a tour of Virginia, and made it opportune to visit both Rives and T. J. Randolph, at their homes in Albemarle County.[57] Soon after the Enquirer expressed the conviction that the Conservatives would not join the Whigs, and declared that too much abuse had been heaped upon the former.[58] R. Wallace, a staunch friend of Rives, living in Warrenton, believed the Whigs would destroy him if they could, but that the majority of the Republicans were for him. Hence he advised him simply to vote against the Sub-Treasury, but to cease talking about it.[59]

The Conservatives' answer to these propositions and suggestions may be found in three articles entitled,

[54] John Letcher to Ely Moore, April 28, 1838. In Van Buren MSS.
[55] Madisonian, May 22, 1838.
[56] Richmond Whig, May 25, Aug. 21, 1838.
[57] Richmond Enquirer, Aug. 3, 1838.
[58] Ibid., Aug. 28, Sept. 28, 1838.
[59] Rives MSS.—Wallace to Rives, Oct. 21, 1838.

"The Principles and Policy of the Conservatives," appearing in the Enquirer, January 17, 1839, but written in September 1838. Mr. Rives was the author. He traces the Republican position in regard to the Bank, shows the attitude of the Republicans in regard to the Sub-Treasury in 1834, and then declares the Conservative position to be the true Republican position. He declares they are non-committal on the Presidency since it is not of concern until two years hence, and finally proclaims their position as one of armed neutrality.[60]

A matter which caused the Administration supporters some concern was the fact that Rives wrote a letter to a Conservative, a friend in Philadelphia, urging the defeat of Porter, the Administration candidate for Governor in Pennsylvania, and the election of Ritner, the Whig candidate.[61] One Administration paper bitterly condemned Rives, declaring that he "has polluted her fair Virginia character" by advising the Conservatives of Pennsylvania to vote for "the vile Federal, Abolitionist, Ritner, over Porter."[62] Since it was a private matter, the Winchester Virginian excused Rives, whom it still considered its friend.[63]

We must now turn our attention to the Senatorial fight during the early months of 1839. Before the election actually took place, there was a tendency to make the term Whig and Conservative synonymous, the claims being that anyone opposed to the Administra-

60 See Richmond Enquirer, Jan. 17, 1839.

61 Rives MSS.—Rives stated in a letter to the Enquirer Nov. 22, 1838, that he wrote the letter for private use, because of the effect the election of Porter would have on the Sub-Treasury fight.

62 Portsmouth Old Dominion, Dec. 1, 1838.

63 Winchester Virginian, Dec. 13, 1838.

tion could not be a Democrat.[64] But what of Tyler in this fight? During January, there appeared numerous letters in the Richmond Whig, claiming that the election of Rives would be treachery to Tyler, that it would be receiving a small band into a great party as superior, and that it would be giving marked recognition to a man who had not a single Whig principle.[65] On the other hand some claimed that there was all to gain, and nothing to lose by supporting Rives, and that he had done more to break up the Jackson party than any other man in Virginia.[66]

The election was set for February 15, 1839. The Conservatives nominated Rives, the Whigs, Tyler, and the Democrats, John Y. Mason. The first ballot was Mason 66, Tyler 62, Rives 29, scattering 5.[67] Since Rives' vote was more than the number of Conservatives in the Legislature, some Whigs necessarily voted for him on the first ballot.[68] On the sixth ballot, Tyler's vote was below that of Rives', so he was dropped.[69] A. H. H. Stuart attempted to effect an election by bringing forward Chapman Johnson as a compromise candidate, but the highest vote he received was 77, 6 short of a choice.[70] After Tyler was dropped Rives received as high as 78 votes, 5 short of a majority. On February 23, the election was indefinitely postponed.[71]

This contest produced the most intense excitement. After Tyler was dropped on the sixth ballot, he was

64 Madisonian, Feb. 5, 1839; Whig, Jan. 11, 1839.
65 Richmond Whig, Jan. 11, 15, 22, 1839.
66 Richmond Whig, Jan. 29, Feb. 1, 1839.
67 Journal of House of Delegates, 1839, pp. 105-107.
68 Tyler—Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, p. 589.
69 Journal of House, 1839, p. 113.
70 Ibid., 1839, p. 118.
71 Ibid., 1839, p. 127.

renominated by Servant of Elizabeth City County, who declared he would vote for a genuine Whig or none, not a man who had favored proclamations, protests, expunging resolutions and Force bills. Tyler never voted for Rives on any ballot.[72] John M. Patton wrote to Rives that his merits and demerits were the chief subject of debate, and "Christian, Jew and Turk alike are upon you." He described to Rives the speech of J. Pendleton urging the union of the Whigs and the Conservatives. This orator referred to Ritchie as "the Napoleon of the Press," victor of a thousand battles, but said that they at last had him at the field of Waterloo, and now "if Blucher does not turn upon Wellington, or Wellington upon Blucher, he will at last be landed at the Island of St. Helena."[73] However, they were not at the field of Waterloo until two years later.

Several factors played a decisive part in this contest. A Democratic Republican might have been elected, had it not been that Rives' "Spartan Band" of fourteen Conservatives made it impossible.[74] But there was another group which the Globe called "Spartan Band number 2," and which it characterized as "The most honorable and ablest of their party." These were the thirteen Impracticable Whigs who would not support Rives.[75] The Whig declared now that there were two branches of Conservatives, "Ritchie Conservatives," who would "sink or swim with Van Buren" and yet opposed to the Sub-Treasury, and those opposed to both.[76]

72 Tyler—Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, p. 590.
73 Rives MSS.—Patton to Rives, Feb. 15, 1839.
74 Richmond Enquirer, Feb. 23, 1839.
75 Globe quoted in Whig, Feb. 26, 1839.
76 Richmond Whig, March 12, 1839.

No doubt the deciding factor in getting the Whigs to vote for Rives was Clay. December 20, 1838, Clay wrote to Francis Brooke that he believed that Rives had cut loose from the Administration forever, and that it would be attended with every good effect, if the Whigs and Conservatives would unite in supporting him for the Senate.[77] Very shortly after this Clay wrote Brooke another letter to this effect:

"Mr. Rives himself has no claim upon the Whigs, but those which arise from his recent course: and confining the question to him alone, his expunging vote and former course would more than neutralize his recent claims. But a more extended view should be taken of the matter. If he can be used as an instrument to acquire an accession of strength that would array Virginia against the Administration, the inquiry then would be, whether sound policy does not demand that we should sacrifice all our feelings excited by a highly exceptionable vote in consideration of a great object to be gained, for the good of our country. It is manifest that if we repel the advances of all the former members of the Jackson party to unite with us, under whatever name they may adopt, we must remain in a perpetual and hopeless minority." [78]

Our attention must now be directed to the struggle for the Virginia Legislature in 1839. Early in that year, at a meeting of the Democratic members of the Legislature, they issued a call for a convention to be held in March, and drew up an address, declaring the issues for the spring election to be Henry Clay with his Bank and tariff, or Van Buren opposed to them,

[77] Colton, Private Correspondence of Clay, Clay to Brooke, Dec. 20, 1838.

[78] Private Correspondence of Clay—Clay to Brooke, Dec. 26, 1838.

and abolitionism, a doctrine which, it was claimed, belonged to the Whigs.[79] This convention, meeting at Richmond under the leadership of Henry St. George Tucker, John Brockenbrough and Thomas Ritchie, issued an address, extending the olive branch to those State Rights men who left the party during the time of Jackson, and to the Conservatives, whose honesty it praises.[80]

In April the Whig members of the Legislature issued an address, in which they condemned Van Buren's extravagance, his inconsistent party record, and his financial policy. The address admitted that there had been differences of opinion in respect to the Senatorial fight, but stated that all were Whigs, and should dedicate themselves to the purpose of defeating Van Buren.[81]

The Conservatives continued their activity. Fourteen of their members in the General Assembly, led by Anderson, Fontaine, Good and Peyton, issued also an address. They declared that the real issue was between Rives and a Sub-Treasury democrat. They praised the Whigs for placing Senatorial independence above party orthodoxy, and commended them for their intelligence and patriotism. They denounced the "sink or swim" Van Burenites as "subservaties," and proclaimed the old Republican principles of State Rights and strict construction.[82] This group played a prominent part in the spring campaign. It was claimed that in many places where Whig success was doubtful, especially in the Southwestern counties, a Conservative was placed on the ticket, but no Whig.[83] The Jackson

79 Richmond Enquirer, Jan. 29, Jan. 31, 1839.
80 Ibid., March 23, 1839.
81 Richmond Whig, April 5, 1839.
82 Ibid., April 5, 1839.
83 Winchester Virginian, May 15, May 22, 1839.

supporters admitted that in several counties, especially Albemarle, Frederick, Botetourt and Fluvanna, the Conservatives would win.[84] In the Albemarle District there was an animated contest between the Conservative, James Garland, and W. F. Gordon, who had now returned to the Democratic fold.[85] The result was a victory for Garland.[86]

Rives, in March, issued an address, in which he praised the intelligence and patriotism of the Whigs, declared that the Republican party deserted him, and denied that he had entered into any kind of combination relative to the election of 1840.[87] This gentleman was now the target of the Administration supporters. He was said to have been hostile ever since he failed to secure the nomination for Vice-President in 1835,[88] to be possessed of an overweening ambition, and to have sunk to the lowest depths of political degradation.[89] It was claimed that the Whigs were using him now to serve their purpose, and once this was done, he would then be cast aside, and some real Whig candidate chosen.[90]

One of the closest and most interesting contests in this election was in the Winchester District. The Democrats met in a large convention at Martinsburg in March and nominated William Lucas for Congress to oppose Richard W. Barton, the Whig candidate. The following extract from the address of the Martinsburg Convention gives an idea of the bitterness of the

[84] Stevenson MSS.—Ritchie to Stevenson, March 4, April 4, 1839.
[85] Staunton Spectator, April 18, 1839.
[86] Richmond Whig, June 4, 1839.
[87] Richmond Enquirer, March 30, 1839.
[88] Washington Globe, Feb. 26, 1839.
[89] Woodstock Sentinel, April 2, 1839.
[90] Stevenson MSS.—Rutherford to Stevenson, April 10, 1839.

conflict: "You know that these federals have always held you, the democracy of the land, in abhorrence—that they have exhausted the vocabulary for words of abuse against you and the government of your choice, . . . that they have, as the last and most degrading epithet, pronounced you the canaille of the land. You know, too, they have arrogated to themselves all the knowledge, honesty and decency of the land." [91] Lucas won in this race by a margin of five votes, with the result that Barton contested the election.[92] After a recount in the two largest counties, Barton abandoned the contest, but prepared a statement to the people of the district in which he alleged every type of fraud had been committed in the election.[93]

The Democrats used Clay as a great campaign issue. Commenting on the election, soon after it occurred, the Whig uses the following language: "The Whigs labored under disadvantages in the election. In lower Virginia, the Whigs were associated with wild schemes of internal improvements. Clay was defamed throughout the State. 'Clay and the Bank' were proclaimed the issues. Clay was called a 'Federalist,' an 'Abolitionist,' a 'black-leg,' a 'hoary iniquity,' and was represented as the most morally depraved of the human family." [94]

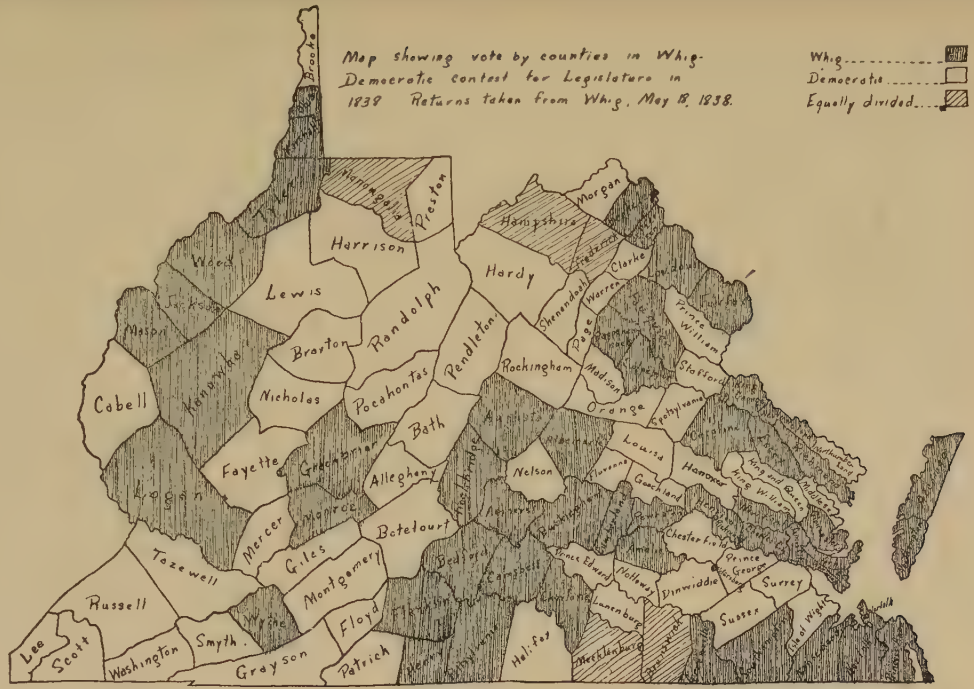
The result of this contest was that the Whigs were once more in control of the Assembly, though the Administration still controlled the upper house. The Whigs did not have a majority over the Democrats and Conservatives combined. The following are the figures: [95]

91 Winchester Virginian, March 27, April 3, 1839.
92 Ibid., June 26, 1839.
93 Winchester Virginian, Dec. 5, 1839, Jan. 15, 1840.
94 Whig quoted in National Intelligencer, June 15, 1839.
95 Richmond Whig, June 11, 1839.

	Whigs	Conservatives	Administration
Senate	12	3	17
House	68	10	56

The complexion of the Virginia delegation in Congress following this election was as follows: 12 Democrats, 6 Whigs, 2 Conservatives, James Garland and G. W. Hopkins, and one Whig, R. M. T. Hunter, who was classified as a Sub-Treasury, anti-Clay, State Rights Whig.[96]

[96] Richmond Enquirer, June 4, 1839.


Map showing vote by counties in Whig-Democratic contest for Legislature in 1839 Returns taken from Whig, May 15, 1838.
Whig
Democratic
Equally divided
Brooke
Ohio
Marshall
Wetzel
Tyler
Pleasants
Ritchie
Doddridge
Harrison
Gilmer
Lewis
Wood
Jackson
Roane
Calhoun
Clay
Braxton
Randolph
Barbour
Upshur
Webster
Taylor
Monongalia
Preston
Hampshire
Morgan
Berkeley
Jefferson
Hardy
Frederick
Clarke
Warren
Shenandoah
Page
Rockingham
Pendleton
Pocahontas
Nicholas
Mason
Cabell
Kanawha
Fayette
Greenbrier
Monroe
Mercer
Giles
Tazewell
Russell
Lee
Scott
Washington
Smyth
Grayson
Wythe
Montgomery
Floyd
Patrick
Bath
Alleghany
Botetourt
Roanoke
Franklin
Bedford
Campbell
Halifax
Pittsylvania
Henry
Prince William
Fauquier
Stafford
Madison
Orange
Culpeper
Loudoun
Nelson
Amherst
Albemarle
Fluvanna
Goochland
Hanover
King and Queen
King William
Caroline
Essex
Middlesex
Gloucester
Matthews
Chesterfield
Powhatan
Prince Edward
Lunenburg
Mecklenburg
Dinwiddie
Prince George
Surrey
Sussex
Isle of Wight
Southampton
Greensville
Brunswick
Nottoway
Amelia
Northampton
Accomack

CHAPTER VI

THE VIRGINIA CAMPAIGN OF 1840

In the preceding chapter the author has endeavored to point out that the campaign to be fought to a finish in 1840 had really begun long before that time. Even if this political battle in Virginia had been but a local aspect of a national election, there would have still been a touch of the dramatic in it. But when keeping in mind the state of feeling so far outlined, one considers that the Senatorial question and the local election of 1840 both had a relation to the national campaign, it is obvious that there is a double interest which attaches to it.

In July 1839, the Whig Central Committee of Richmond delivered an address to the members of the party in the State, in which they recommended that a Whig Convention be held in Staunton in September to decide whether a state nomination of President and Vice-President should be made or whether delegates should be chosen for the Harrisburg Convention.[1] When the Convention met in Staunton, September 25, the Southside and Tidewater counties were well represented, but due to distance, as well as to the popularity of Van Buren, the Southwestern and Northwestern counties were poorly represented.[2] Out of a total of 124 in the State, 78 counties and two boroughs sent delegates. B. W. Leigh and James Barbour were chosen delegates-at-large to the Harrisburg Convention, while

[1] Richmond Inquirer, July 9, 1839.
[2] Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 3, 1839.

Clay and N. P. Tallmadge were endorsed for President and Vice-President respectively.[3]

The Conservatives, at least those not in Virginia, strongly favored General Scott for the Presidential nomination, and urged Rives to arouse sentiment in his favor in Virginia.[4]

Since Rives' candidacy for the Senate is closely connected with the Presidential situation, it is logical to follow now the bitter struggle over Virginia's vacancy in the upper house of Congress. After the failure to elect a Senator during the session of 1838-39, there was a persistent effort to force Rives to declare himself in regard to his choice of a candidate for the Presidency, but he as persistently refused, declaring that a candidate for public office should have higher qualifications to recommend him than simply an expression of where he stood in regard to Presidential candidates.[5] Finally, after Harrison had written a letter to Rives in which he declared that his slavery position was not antagonistic to the South,[6] Rives declared in a statement given to the public that Harrison was the true Republican candidate, superior to Van Buren in every way, and hence deserving of his support.[7]

3 Richmond Enquirer, Oct. 1 and 4, 1839. Tallmadge was an outstanding Conservative in New York, so it was thought his nomination would aid in alienating this group from the Democrats. Harrison having been nominated, however, instead of Clay at the Harrisburg Convention, it was deemed wise to name Tyler, a Southern Whig, for Vice-President. His previous nomination for this office by the Virginia Whigs in 1836, and the widespread indignation at his rejection for the Senate since that time attest his popularity in the State.

4 Rives MSS.—W. B. Lewis to Rives, Oct. 22, 1839; J. Allen to Rives, Sept. 23, 1839.

5 Ibid.—Rives to Chas. Mason, Dec. 13, 1839; Rives to Edmund Fontaine, Jan. 13, 1840.

6 Ibid.—Harrison to Rives, Jan. 23, 1840.

7 Richmond Whig, Feb. 27, 1840.

In the meantime the Senatorial fight had passed through another dramatic stage. During the fall months of 1839, an active campaign had been started in the West by the Democrats in behalf of James McDowell for the Senate, their chief claim in his behalf being that the West had had only one Senator since the formation of the government.[8] However, probably because McDowell had been an abolitionist in 1832, the Democrats decided to support J. Y. Mason instead.[9] After a great deal of debate as to whether Rives would support Harrison, a vote was taken January 29, 1840, with the following result: Rives 83, Mason 79, scattering 4.[10] On the tenth ballot the Democratic opposition dropped Rives and supported J. J. Allen, but there was no choice. January 31 the election was deferred indefinitely.[11] The fact that the three impracticable Whigs, Thomas Smith, Carter Cropper and Thomas H. Bayly, called by the Richmond Whig "the three wise men of the East," would not support Rives made his election impossible.[12] Suffice it to say now that Virginia remained with only one Senator until January 18, 1841, when Rives was finally elected.[13] Shortly after this contest in 1840, the Whigs by a close vote succeeded in placing Thomas W. Gilmer, a Jackson man before the Proclamation, in the Governor's chair.[14] James McDowell was his opponent.

With the Senatorial question still unsettled, and with

8 Lexington Gazette, Dec. 17, 1839; Winchester Virginian, Oct. 30, 1839; Woodstock Sentinel, July 25, 1839.
9 Richmond Enquirer, Dec. 7, 1839.
10 Journal of House, 1839-40, p. 114.
11 Ibid., 1839-40, p. 114.
12 Richmond Enquirer, Feb. 6, 1840.
13 Journal of House, 1840-41, p. 83.
14 Ibid., pp. 137-140.

the possible influence that the spring victory or defeat might have upon the fall election at stake, each side prepared to do its utmost in the spring election of 1840. The Democrats claimed that the Whigs were responsible for Virginia's half-representation in the Senate,[15] while Rives was called a "renegade" [16] and "the armed Neutral who has joined in the battle under the Federal flag." [17] Rives, on his part, in a public speech, declared the Enquirer to be "the libeller of every prominent man who had been on the stage for the last quarter of a century," and that after the election "it shall never defile my portals," whereupon this newspaper declared it would strike him at once from its lists.[18]

It is often said that the campaign of 1840 has connected with it psychological and social factors of marked interest. These phases of the campaign are well illustrated in the local fight in Rockbridge County, Virginia. The Whigs referred to Van Buren as "an effeminate dandy," "a modern fop," while Harrison was called "the Father of the West," "a practical farmer, tilling the soil with his own hands," "just the man to attach the affections of the honest democracy of America." [19] The people were also reminded that "the Fanny Wright Infidels are to a man loco-focos." [20] This section of the State could boast of some very able leaders on either side, James McDowell, John Brockenbrough, and John Letcher, distinguished Democrats, and Samuel McDowell Moore and C. P. Dorman, able Whigs. On the eve of the legislative election of 1840,

15 Winchester Virginian, Feb. 12, 1840.
16 Richmond Enquirer, Feb. 25, 1840.
17 Winchester Virginian, March 4, 1840.
18 Richmond Enquirer, April 21, 1840.
19 Lexington Gazette, March 10, 1840.
20 Ibid., Feb. 25, 1840.

the Valley Star, controlled by McDowell, was placed in the hands of all the voters, and in addition a secret circular, signed by McDowell and four others. The circular read, in part, as follows: "The Whigs despise your intelligence and your feelings, revile your principles, boast of having put you down, and of having swayed it over you for years with all the haughtiness of braggart defiance." [21]

The Whig Committee, headed by Samuel McDowell Moore, replied to this circular, lamenting that advocates of good order should array neighbor against neighbor through misrepresentation of purpose.[22] The Democratic Committee, in reply, disclaimed any intention to make the election a social question, but did state that Whigs had frequently called Democrats "spoils-fag-end" and "rowdy party." [23] Democrats later referred to the Whigs as "town Whigs," "silk-gloved Whigs." [24]

The spring election was not an overwhelming Whig victory, although it was admitted by the opposition that the Whigs had a majority of from five to ten on joint ballot.[25]

A factor that played a considerable part in the local elections as well as in the national campaign was Poinsett's military scheme. This was a plan proposed by Poinsett, Secretary of War, whereby the state militia would become a regular part of the national army.[26] The country was to be divided into districts, the recruit was to furnish part of his equipment, and was to serve in whatever part of the district designated. These

21 Ibid., April 28, 1840.
22 Lexington Gazette, May 12, 1840.
23 Ibid., June 12, 1840.
24 Ibid., Aug. 25, 1840.
25 Richmond Enquirer, May 12, 1840.
26 Ibid., April 7, 1840.

features the Whigs bitterly denounced. This plan, combined with the Sub-Treasury scheme, would, they said, represent a complete union of the purse and the sword.[27] They claimed that this army would become an instrument of political corruption,[28] that it would vastly increase the patronage of the President, since he would appoint more officers,[29] and some went so far as to say that it would make "martial law the order of the day," and, if created, "the people would dare not speak above a whisper." [30]

It devolved upon Ritchie to meet the Whig attacks in respect to the military scheme. This he did by denying that the President was in any way responsible for Poinsett's scheme, and by attempting to show that Harrison himself favored a large standing army with longer periods of training than those provided by the Secretary of War.[31] In the meantime Parker had written to Van Buren that "The charge about a standing army of 200,000 men ought to have been explained and repelled. Would you believe that in our State this is the most formidable weapon in the hands of the Whigs? All of Mr. Ritchie's letters speak of the injury it is doing, and he thinks it will make a difference of 2,000 votes. . . . Mr. Rives and his friends have magnified the dangers of this harmless measure tremendously." [32]

Finally, Ritchie wrote to Poinsett that the latter was charged with preparing a system, tyrannical and

27 Address of Whig Central Committee of Fauquier County, 1840. Pamphlet in Virginia State Library, Richmond. Whig, Apr. 17, 1840.

28 Staunton Spectator, March 19, 1840.

29 The Yoeman, Feb. 12, 1840.

30 Charlestown Free Press, April 2, 1840.

31 Richmond Enquirer, May 22 and 26, 1840.

32 Van Buren MSS.—R. E. Parker to Van Buren, April 6, 1840.

oppressive and without precedent, and one which was desired by the President at this special time in order to organize a body of voters favorable to his re-election.[33] Poinsett replied June 5, giving precedents for his plan from Washington to Jackson. This was published by the Democratic Central Committee,[34] but only after one of the Tippecanoe Clubs of Richmond had ordered to be published, at its own expense, 10,000 copies of the plan.[35]

Having confined our discussion thus far largely to the Senatorial and local aspects of this campaign, we shall now study it from the larger national aspect. This study can logically be pursued from three angles: first, the official pronouncements of the contending parties, second, the popular aspects of the contest, third, the attitude of prominent individuals.

September 9 and 10, the Democrats, under the leadership of such prominent men as Judge Peter V. Daniel, Linn Banks, William F. Gordon and Thomas Ritchie, met in a large convention at Charlottesville. While one purpose of this convention was to provide better organization, the main purpose was an address to the people of the State. This address declared that the present contest was similar to that of the Federalists against Jefferson. As regards principles, it declared opposition to the Bank and the American System, while it endorsed the Sub-Treasury as the best cure for the present ills. It stated that it was hard to examine the principles of the opposition, since it stated none. Van Buren is called "the child and champion of democracy" and "the logical heir to the Jefferson poli-

[33] Ritchie to Poinsett, May 29, 1840. Published in Van Buren MSS.
[34] Richmond Whig, June 12, 1840.
[35] The Yeoman, May 21, 1840.

cies." He is lauded as right on the slavery question, while it is claimed that the army bill was proposed without his approval. While Van Buren is represented as the symbol of the union of Northern Democracy with the South, Harrison is pictured as a supporter of the Proclamation, and as an abolitionist.[36]

The official character of the Whig campaign may be ascertained by reference to the address of the Whig Convention, which met for the purpose of naming an electoral ticket for the State. It is claimed that constitutional power is unlimited in the hands of an unscrupulous partisan who uses patronage for political purposes. To remedy this, one term is stressed. As regards issues or principles, considerable attention is paid to the Bank. The address quotes a letter, written by Harrison to the Cincinnati Inquisitor in 1822, as follows: "I believe that the Charter given to the Bank of the United States was unconstitutional—it being not one of those measures necessary to carry any of the expressly granted powers into effect." Continuing further, this Whig document declares that "There is no reason to believe that he (Harrison) is in favor of a Bank in any form, for he is assuredly opposed to a government Bank. As far as we know or believe, fellow-citizens, General Harrison has but one opinion about the Bank, and that is against it."

The address declares the Bank, tariff and internal improvements no longer issues, but states that even if they were, Harrison's attitude on the last two is more satisfactory than Van Buren's. Frequent quotations are given from Harrison's utterances to show that he was convinced that nothing could be done in

[36] Proceedings of Democratic State Convention at Charlottesville, Sept. 9 and 10, 1840; Virginia Political Pamphlets, Vol. 28.

regard to slavery without the consent of the slaveholding states, while Van Buren's vote in favor of negro suffrage, and his indirect support of restriction in Missouri are emphasized. According to the Whig custom, Harrison's simplicity and rustic virtues are lauded. Finally, a glowing tribute is paid to Tyler, who, the address declared, could not possibly be called an abolitionist, and who had been such a consistent Republican that the charge of Federalism against him needed no answer.[37]

We shall now turn our attention to the popular features of the contest. As will be pointed out later, Harrison was not received with spontaneous outbursts of enthusiasm in Virginia, but this does not alter the fact that an impressive effort was made to oust the Democracy. In all sections of the state Tippecanoe clubs were formed.[38] Log cabins were constantly in evidence. A committee of the Charlottesville Democratic Convention reported that the Whigs had constructed in Virginia 17 log cabins, that these were adorned with large numbers of coon skins, gourds and cider barrels, that for their meetings they kept one live bear and three stuffed bear skins.[39]

The Winchester Republican thus describes the big festival at Winchester, at which William C. Rives was to be the principal speaker: "It was the most imposing occasion of its kind ever held in the Valley of Virginia. Early in the day, about 8 A.M., a large number of our citizens formed in procession, and marched out of town to meet our Berkeley friends, about 400 in number. The whole line of procession entered the town

[37] Address of Whig Convention for nomination of Electors to people of Virginia, 1840. In Virginia Political Pamphlets, Vol. I.

[38] Lynchburg Virginian, June 18, 1840; Lexington Gazette, Aug. 25, 1840.

[39] Winchester Virginian, Sept. 23, 1840.

about 10 o'clock, with bands of music, the log cabin drawn by ten horses, streamers and ensigns, and banners flying, on one of which was observed in large capitals, "I cannot forget I have a country to serve, as well as a party to obey." [40]

It is related that as the huge Whig cabin, belonging to the Tippecanoe Club in Richmond, was being erected, a Van Buren supporter asked, "Why don't you skin your poles?" The reply was; "Never mind, we'll do the skinning at the polls in November." [41] Joint debates added life to the campaign. At a large meeting in Winchester, July 23, Congressman J. W. Crocket and C. H. Williams of Tennessee spoke for the Whigs, while John Letcher of Rockbridge and J. M. Mason of Winchester upheld the Democratic cause.[42] During August there were frequent joint discussions in Strasburg, Harrisonburg and Page.[43] Rives and MacDowell, Leigh and J. W. Jones furnished opposing oratory at different places.[44]

Impressive meetings were held in Richmond. There was hearty applause in the Whig cabin there when William C. Preston declared that he was ready to remove Van Buren by force, if it could not be done by constitutional means.[45] The most impressive of the meetings was the great Whig Convention held there October 5, and lasting three days. Among those present were James Barbour, Rives, Beverley Tucker, Leigh, John Minor Botts and James Garnett, while the distinguished speaker from another section was Webster. The latter declared in his speech that they were

40 Quoted in Charlestown Free Press, April 23, 1840.
41 The Yeoman, July 16, 1840.
42 Winchester Virginian, July 29, 1840.
43 Woodstock Sentinel, August 27, 1840.
44 Staunton Spectator, August 20 and 23, 1840.
45 Richmond Enquirer, August 14, 1840.

fighting a common enemy, and that he would not discuss differences among the elements of his own party. He lamented the growing power and patronage of the executive, denounced the Sub-Treasury and Poinsett's army scheme, assured the South her institutions would not be interfered with, and complimented Virginia on her State Rights views without his stating what they were.[46] The next day Webster spoke again, and still further ingratiated himself into the favor of the Virginians, by making an eloquent address to the ladies on moral philosophy.[47]

At a time when the negro question held the spotlight in Virginia politics, it was natural that the Whigs should make constant reference to the Hooe case. Hooe was an officer who had been court-martialed, partly as the result of negro testimony.[48] Van Buren had refused to interfere with the findings of the military tribunal. The Whigs declared the sanctioning of negro evidence to be against the whole policy and feeling of the South,[49] while John Minor Botts went so far as to declare that the President favored equality between the blacks and the whites.[50]

While the Whigs were waging such an aggressive campaign, the Democrats were not idle. The cry that Harrison was an abolitionist was hurled far and wide. It was claimed that he and Tyler were opposites, especially in regard to abolition.[51] The Globe proceeded

[46] Richmond Whig, Oct. 7, 1840.
[47] Norfolk Beacon, Oct. 12, 1840.
[48] Charlestown Free Press, July 2, 1840.
[49] Staunton Spectator, June 25, 1840.
[50] See Norfolk Beacon, Oct. 24 and 26, 1840. While a large Whig cabin was being erected in Richmond, a Van Buren supporter stated that it looked like a negro cabin. A Whig replied, "Look as it may, come to our meetings, and you will find no negro testimony used against a white man."
[51] Washington Globe, March 5, 1840.

to publish the Constitution of the Virginia Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, of which Harrison had been a member.[52] The Winchester Democratic Association declared that Harrison was a Federalist who favored a Bank, and that he could not be trusted in regard to abolition.[53] The Democratic emphasized the fact that Harrison had made a speech at Cheviot, Ohio, July 4, 1833, in which he advocated using the surplus revenue for emancipation purposes, and also the argument that, if he were elected, he would owe it to the abolitionists of New York and Ohio.[54] It was claimed that Clay was abandoned so that the abolitionists could support Harrison.[55] Henry A. Wise, who was refuting these charges all through the campaign, had earlier contended that since Harrison's father was a slaveholder and a Virginian who now rested beneath the soil of his native state, it would be incredible that the son could be an abolitionist.[56]

Harrison's Proclamation ideas, and Webster's Consolidation speech of 1833, which he endorsed, were flared in the face of the State Rights Whigs, and men like Judge Upshur and R. M. T. Hunter were asked how they could support such a candidate.[57] It was good Democratic strategy thus to point out the diverse elements in the Whig ranks. After stating that the Whigs claimed a monopoly of the intelligence in the State, the Winchester Virginian, referring to the fact that Tyler, Rives and Preston would all attend the big Whig meeting held at that town, made the fol-

52 Ibid., Sept. 2, 1840. This society was active in the 1820's.
53 Winchester Virginian, Aug. 15, 1840.
54 Richmond Enquirer, June 16, Oct. 24, 1840; also Warrenton Jeffersonian, Feb. 22, 1840.
55 The Crisis, March 14, 1840.
56 Niles' Register, Vol. LVIII, p. 101, April 18, 1840.
57 Richmond Enquirer, June 5, 1840.

lowing caustic comments: "At such high carnival (as is expected) might it not be well for some of the party, at least, to appear in masks? For then Tyler, the gaunt Nullifier, with his eagle profile, would be spared the mortification of looking full in the face 'the little expunger,' who supplanted him as Senator, and the scowl of Preston's broad forehead would not wither the looks of the ready applauder of the Proclamation, and the ardent supporter of the Force Bill." [58]

The most enthusiastic Administration sentiment in Virginia was in the Valley counties, where there was a strong Dutch element. Shenandoah and Page, the right wing of the famous "Tenth Legion," were strong for Van Buren.[59] Under the leadership of P. Williams, Joseph H. Samuels and Joel Pennbacher, a Democratic organization had been perfected in Shenandoah, which could be depended upon to roll up an impressive majority.[60] At a monster Democratic meeting, held at Winchester, July 23, which was described as made up of "hardy, honest yoemanry and workingmen—who will never surrender themselves to the proud and selfish," [61] it is claimed that here were from 1000 to 1500 people from the "Tenth Legion" alone.[62]

At a large meeting of Staunton Democrats in August, led by Robert Heiskell, William Young and George Baylor, it was charged that Harrison was a Federalist of the Hamilton—elder Adams type—that he wore the black cockade, and it was stated that "when the people call for the principles of General Harrison, they will not be content to receive for answer a log

[58] Winchester Virginian, April 15, 1840. Rives was "the little expunger" and ready applauder of the proclamation.
[59] Niles' Register, Vol LVIII, p. 390, Aug. 22, 1840.
[60] Woodstock Sentinel, July 23, 1840.
[61] Winchester Virginian, July 29, 1840.
[62] Niles' Register, Vol. LVIII, p. 390, Aug. 22, 1840.

cabin, hard cider, a buck horn or a coon skin as the only expression of opinion on the great agitating questions of the day." [63]

Since the Democrats frequently charged the Whigs with being proud aristocrats, they felt incensed that the latter should laud Harrison as a plain, social democrat. A Democratic paper speaks as follows of Harrison's home: " 'North Bend,' seat of Harrison, stands near the bank of the Ohio River. . . . The main building is lofty and extensive—the outhouses suitable thereto: and the whole establishment presents the appearance of being the property of one who is averse to a 'log-cabin' residence, and who is rich enough to eschew 'hard cider' as a necessary drink. The man who stated Harrison's house was a cabin, and his drink, hard cider, was either the originator or circulator of a falsehood."[64] Later the same paper claimed that the Whig method of campaigning was a practical application of the Federal doctrine that the masses are ignorant and easily led, for "The men who live in fine houses, and drink imported wines, are endeavoring to make the people believe that they are friendly to those who live in log cabins and drink hard cider." [65]

Any account of the campaign of 1840 would be far from complete without some attention to the attitude of the prominent individuals who had, in spectacular fashion, broken from the Jackson ranks during the decade of the thirties.

John Tyler, when invited by the Whigs of Louisville, July 19, 1839, to deliver an address, made a reply emphasizing what he considered Whig policies. They wished to correct the errors on points of public

63 Staunton Spectator, Aug. 23, 1840.
64 Warrenton Jeffersonian, March 14, 1840.
65 Ibid., May 30, 1840.

policy of the late and present Administration. Though differences of opinion existed among its members, yet the platform of principles was broad enough for all to battle for the common good. The union of the purse and the sword in the same hand should be dissolved, and the immense power of executive patronage must be broken. The Senate should be restored to its original position of dignity and power.[66] In October, 1840, in a speech in Ohio, Tyler expressed his conviction that the Bank was unconstitutional, and just on the eve of the election, replying to citizens of Henrico County, he referred them to his vote against the recharter of the Bank.[67]

Clay, having returned to Hanover County, Va., his birthplace, to speak in this campaign, it is interesting to compare his statement of Whig principles with Tyler's. He declared that executive power should be circumscribed by limiting the executive to one term and by having the veto overridden by a majority of Congress. The Treasury should be controlled by Congress, not the Executive. He declared that the Compromise Act of 1833 was a fair settlement of the tariff, and that the Bank question "should be left to the arbitrament of an enlightened public opinion."[68] When, he did not say.

The Whig denials that the Bank was an issue, the claim of the Whig State Convention that Harrison was opposed to the institution, Webster's refusal to discuss it at Richmond, Clay's vagueness, and Tyler's open opposition, all would indicate that Virginia Whigs had no idea that they were voting for the reestablishment of the Bank.

[66] Tyler—Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, pp. 617-618.
[67] Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 621-622.
[68] Schurz—Life of Clay, Vol. II, pp. 188-189.

When one considers that men like John Tyler and Henry A. Wise were still active in the Whig ranks, it could hardly be said that all the Calhoun element of opposition to Jackson was now opposed to Harrison. But many Calhoun men who had opposed Jackson were either indifferent to Harrison or positively for Van Buren. Such a man was William F. Gordon. His biographer claims that he had never really been a Whig, but had associated himself with the Whig party for the sole purpose of opposing the autocracy of Jackson. Now, since he favored Van Buren's Sub-Treasury scheme, he considered himself a Democrat.[69]

In the revolt against Jackson in the early thirties, no former supporter had, perhaps, criticized him so severely as Littleton W. Tazewell. Now Tazewell stated that the occasion for his opposition to Jackson having passed away, he felt that he had more in common with Van Buren than with Harrison, and hence would support the former.[70] S. W. Hopkins, member of Congress from Wythe County, who played a prominent part in the Conservative revolt, likewise announced his intention of returning to the Democratic ranks.[71]

A former Whig of prominence, who now cared to support neither Harrison nor Van Buren, was R. M. T. Hunter. Shortly after the nomination of Harrison, George Fitzhugh wrote to Hunter to the effect that he had not seen a Whig to whom Harrison's nomination was acceptable, that many would support Van Buren or not exercise the right of suffrage at all. He urged Hunter to declare himself now for Van Buren.[72]

69 Armstead C. Gordon—Life of Gordon, p. 237.

70 This letter, conveying these ideas, was by Tazewell to Dr. J. P. Young of Portsmouth. It was published in Winchester Virginian, Sept. 9, 1840.

71 Winchester Virginian, April 15, 1840.

72 Hunter Correspondence—Fitzhugh to Hunter, Dec. 15, 1839.

This he refused to do, but in an address to his constituents, June 29, 1840, declared he could not support either candidate, since he considered that both had favored the Proclamation and Force Bill, and because he believed Van Buren favored a protective tariff.[73]

In the light of subsequent history, perhaps the most interesting view of the contest is that taken by Abel P. Upshur. He had been a State Rights Whig, and an intense admirer of Calhoun. In January, 1840, he wrote to Beverley Tucker as follows: "Now this is the reason I take no interest in the Presidential election. I greatly prefer Harrison to Clay: but how can I act with the party whose candidate he is? The State Rights men may help to elect Harrison, but the moment he is elected, the National Republicans take possession of him, and their duped auxiliaries are laid aside." He expresses profound admiration for Calhoun, but says he cares not who is elected President.[74] In a letter to Wise, he agrees that the Administration party is corrupt, but can say little more for the Whigs. It is inconceivable, he says, that the Virginia Whigs should support Rives for the Senate when he has been the opponent of everything for which they have stood.[75]

Upshur's idea was that the interests of the South could be served only by Southerners. He suggests to Tucker that they "hoist the Virginia flag," and let others settle their own affairs.[76] He believed that the power of the central government was too strong, that the only way to arrest it was for the South to stand as a unit, so he urged that no opportunity should be

[73] Richmond Enquirer, July 7, 1840.

[74] Tucker MSS.—A. P. Upshur to Tucker, Jan. 12, 1840.

[75] Upshur to Wise, in Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. III, pp. 77-80, March 23, 1840.

[76] Tucker MSS.—Upshur to Tucker, March 23, 1840.

lost for the accomplishing of that design. Even then, he and Edmund Ruffin were contemplating the establishment of a newspaper at Richmond to further Southern unity.[77] Somewhat prophetic of what was to happen in the 1850's, thought not in 1840, Ruffin predicted that both parties, as they then existed, would disintegrate after the election, and that a Southern State Rights party, formed now, would, in eighteen months, eclipse them both in strength.[78]

No better evidence of the dramatic character of the campaign of this year can be given than the letter of Peter V. Daniel to Van Buren late in September. After stating that the Hooe case and standing army plan had been magnified beyond measure, he writes: "We are now, my dear sir, in the midst of the greatest effervescence of the political cauldron. Who is to survive, and who is to be consumed, in its furious bubblings, God knows. Sure I am that I have never witnessed anything like the scenes now passing before me. Shameless falsehoods and scandalous charges have been thick." [79]

The election results, as shown on the map, are worth a brief analysis. The most impressive result was the vote for Van Buren in the upper Valley counties, his majority in Rockingham being 1,188 out of a total vote of 1,700, and 1,116 in Shenandoah out of a total vote of 1,320.[80] Tidewater Virginia continued to show Whig strength, due, no doubt, in this campaign, partly to the fact that Harrison had been a native of this section and Tyler still lived there. Harrison's strength in the Northwest may be accounted for by the fact

77 Ibid.—Upshur to Tucker, Feb. 27, 1840.
78 Ibid.—Ruffin to Tucker, Oct. 24, 1840.
79 Van Buren MSS.—Daniel to Van Buren, Sept. 28, 1840.
80 Winchester Virginian, Nov. 11, 1840.

that the charge that he was latitudinarian was constantly brought against him. Van Buren carried the Southwest. The final result was as follows:

Van Buren	43,893
Harrison	42,501
Van Buren's majority	1,392 [81]

[81] The complete returns are given in the Richmond Enquirer, Nov. 13, 1840.

Map showing vote by counties in presidential contest between Harrison and Van Buren in 1840 Returns are taken from the Richmond Enquirer
Whig
Democratic
Equally divided....
Brooke
Ohio
Marshall
Tyler
Monongalia
Preston
Harrison
Wood
Lewis
Jackson
Mason
Kanawha
Putnam
Cabell
Randolph
Pocahontas
Pendleton
Hardy
Hampshire
Frederick
Clarke
Jefferson
Berkeley
Shenandoah
Page
Warren
Loudoun
Fairfax
Prince William
Rockingham
Madison
Green
Orange
Stafford
Culpeper
Fauquier
Alleghany
Bath
Augusta
Albemarle
Louisa
Caroline
Spotsylvania
King George
King and Queen
King William
Essex
Gloucester
Middlesex
Logan
Monroe
Greenbrier
Botetourt
Rockbridge
Amherst
Nelson
Buckingham
Cumberland
Powhatan
Chesterfield
Amelia
Prince Edward
Nottoway
Dinwiddie
Prince George
Surrey
Tazewell
Giles
Montgomery
Pulaski
Floyd
Russell
Wythe
Lee
Scott
Washington
Smyth
Grayson
Carroll
Patrick
Henry
Halifax
Lunenburg
Mecklenburg
Brunswick
Greensville
Sussex
Isle of Wight
Norfolk

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

He who reads the political history of our country covering the first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that Virginia, during that time, contributed no small part to our national leadership. He who reads our national political history covering the sixteen years after 1825 pictures Virginia as apparently in a state of political decline. The "Virginia Dynasty" of Presidents had ended in 1825, Jefferson died the next year, and a few years later Madison and Monroe announced that they had retired from the political arena forever. John Marshall was still rendering his epoch making decisions, but his position was such that he was not actively in the political limelight. Rarely was a Virginian seriously mentioned as a presidential possibility. South Carolina, it would seem, had come forward to take, in part, the place of leadership Virginia had had, and the West, with its spokesman in the presidential chair, assumed a political prominence not heretofore realized in the national councils. Clay, Benton and Webster spoke the voice of sections other than Virginia.

But because the "Virginia Dynasty" had ended and because other sections were producing men of remarkable talents, it does not follow that Virginia was in a state of political decline. One of the results of this study has been to give the State her proper setting in relation to our national policies during a period when grave questions were at issue. In doing this we have followed to some extent at least the public careers of men whose biographies have never been written.

Their thoughts have been given in their own words when it was possible to do so, and he who reads their language must be impressed with the profound political and social philosophy which it often contains. They studied the science of polities, and, in this discourse, our aim has been to do justice to their political instinct. Rives, Leigh, Tazewell, Tyler and Upshur were usually foremost in the political struggles of the Jackson period, not to mention those less prominently connected with party battles such as James Barbour, P. P. Barbour, Beverley Tucker, James McDowell, T. W. Gilmer and many others.

Then, too, during the 1830's, Virginia was in a political sense a border state. She was now a doubtful state, and for this reason her attitude on public questions was of concern to both North and South. For instance South Carolina quickly tried to associate her nullification theory with the Virginia principles of 1798-99. Jackson expressed himself as vitally interested in Virginia's attitude during this crisis, and Van Buren was not willing to endorse the proclamation against South Carolina in its entirety for fear that it would give offense to Virginia.[1] At a time when North-South sectional feeling was bitter, Mr. Rives referred to his state as "the fulcrum of the South." Had not he, Stevenson, Ritchie and others pleaded successfully with Van Buren, admittedly unpopular in Virginia, to satisfy this State in regard to the slavery question, it is entirely possible that the Virginia Democracy would have broken its close connection with the New York Democracy, and that there would have been formed in Virginia before the end of the 1830's an influential nucleus of a Southern sectional party.

But the fundamental question to be answered in brief language is, what was the nature and character of the

1 See Chapter III for these facts.

Anti-Jacksonian movement? It should be kept in mind that Jackson's views on matters of public policy were vague when he became President, and in some respects they continued to be vague for some time after. For this reason the nature of the opposition to him was not as clearly revealed during his first Administration as it was during his second when his position on warmly debated questions became not simply clear but positively aggressive.

During Jackson's entire public career, his enemies charged that he was an autocrat who had no regard for the Constitution. In the campaign of 1828, his conduct during his military campaigns in Florida was criticised as unconstitutional. As regards public policies, the main opposition to him at this time came from National Republicans who accepted the broad construction principles of the Adams Administration. Jackson, during his first administration, did not favor prominent Virginians with Cabinet positions, nor did he assume an attitude in regard to the tariff satisfactory to Virginia. Furthermore, he insisted on placing Van Buren on the ticket with him as Vice-Presidential candidate in 1832. All these factors produced discord in the Democratic ranks, and there undoubtedly would have been a more impressive Anti-Jacksonian movement in 1832, had it been possible for these discordant elements to unite with the Clay National Republicans.

The Whig movement in the early 30's was in large part a State Rights' movement in opposition to the centralizing tendencies of Jackson's second administration. Few Virginians actually countenanced nullification, but many refused to accept the political theory of the Proclamation, viz., that ours was a consolidated government and not a union of sovereign states. Planters could not accept this theory, in their opinion, because such acceptance might pave the way for interference

by the national government with their peculiar social and economic system. The removal of the deposits was termed "executive usurpation" and this action gave tremendous momentum to the Whig movement. National Republicans and former Jackson men had at last found a bond which would unite them in their opposition to the Administration. Incidentally, one of the weaknesses in the Whig movement in the 1830's was the fact that it was hard for the two principal factions to unite and then to act in harmony after they did.

But the State Rights character of the opposition to Jackson was not as marked in 1840 as it had been earlier. What with men like Tazewell and Gordon supporting Van Buren in that year, and others such as Hunter and Upshur positively indifferent in regard to the contest between him and Harrison, it could hardly be said that the situation was entirely similar to what it had been previously. Another fact to be considered is that Rives who had consistently supported Jackson in all his centralizing policies was now a Whig, and carried with him into the Whig ranks a considerable number of Democrats who had recently gone by the name of Conservatives. The constant charge that Van Buren's Sub-Treasury scheme represented an even closer control of the purse than Jackson had exercised, and that this control along with the increased military powers of the executive under Poinsett's Military scheme would represent a uion of the purse and the sword, this charge did not appear to be very convincing to at least some prominent State Rights advocates.

Another consideration which seems valid in the light of the data used in preparing this discourse is that the struggle between the Jackson and Anti-Jackson forces was in large part a class struggle. Jackson unlike Jefferson was a social Democrat. Unpolished himself,

he did not conceive of education as a necessary prerequisite for public service. Rotation in office was for him a sound democratic principle because it gave the masses a greater opportunity to hold official positions. Free manhood suffrage was another of his ideals. Aristocratic Virginia planters were not in sympathy with these. Leigh and Upshur and Eastern representatives generally had opposed free manhood suffrage in the Virginia Convention of 1829-30, and had boldly proclaimed that property was an element to be considered in apportioning representation and in granting suffrage.[1] The Whigs claimed that intelligence was largely confined to their ranks, and the Democrats did not hesitate to charge that the Whigs were aristocrats, and regarded them (the Democrats) as social inferiors. During Jackson's second administration, the majority of the planters who were active political leaders were Whigs, while popular results showed that the East with ith slave-holding planters had a strong Whig element. Large sheep farms and the development of manufactures there help to explain the Whig sentiment in the Northwest. The Valley and Southwest with their small farmer element were strongly Democratic.[2]

1 See Chapter II.

2 The author attempted to prove statistically that men of considerable property holdings in Richmond voted largely Whig. Real property lists were available by wards, but the election returns were not given by wards, hence the relation between property and party politics could not be clearly established. No occupational classification was available except the very confusing one in the census of 1840, and a less confusing one would have been useless without ward election returns. Richmond, however, was overwhelmingly Whig in sentiment. The personal tax lists show that a very large majority of such taxpayers owned some slaves, while the numerous Whig leaders are shown by real property lists to be, almost without exception, possessed of considerable property. Banking interests were also strong in Richmond. These facts may help to explain the impressive Whig victories there.

The maps illustrate the character of the opposing political forces. The three constant Whig areas were Tidewater, a group of counties in the Lynchburg section, and the counties along the Great Kanawha River in western Virginia. Security for slave property was the paramount political aim of the Tidewater planter. In the central section, most of which was east of the mountains, there was a slaveholding element and also one favoring the American System. The salt, iron and woolen industries in western Virginia were along the Great Kanawha River.

The two constant Democratic sections were the upper Valley counties and the Southwest. In the first the non-slaveholding German farmers comprised a large portion of the population, and in the second the small independent farmer was also most numerous. Piedmont Virginia, though usually Democratic, always gave a substantial Whig vote.

All the factions in Virginia after the passing of the "Virginia Dynasty" claimed to be heirs to the policies or principles of Jefferson. Even the National Republicans before the rise of the Whig party tried to associate their principles with his. Regardless of their claim, we have shown here, as far as their positions could be ascertained, the views of the Jackson and Anti-Jackson parties, respectively, on all the fundamental issues which, during this period, gave rise to some of the most dramatic political battles in American history. The tariff, internal improvements by the national government, the Bank, nullification, the Proclamation, Distribution of the Surplus Revenue, slavery and abolition, the financial measures of the late 30's, all these have been treated in the light of their connection with party history in Virginia 1824-1840. Whatever other

points of view may be suggested in this discourse, the fundamental proposition which it maintains is that the principal opposition to Jackson in the State came from conservative classes, from men possessed of property in slaves and otherwise, who refused to accept either his brand of nationalism or his theory of democracy.

APPENDIX

Including the names of the members of the Virginia General Assembly from 1834-1840 inclusive, and also their political complexion. The names were secured from the Register of the General Assembly. The political complexion was determined by the source indicated at the end of each year. D is used to designate "Democrat," W to designate "Whig."

1834

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

1. Accomac	J. P. Drummond	W
	Southey Grinald	W
2. Albemarle	A. Rives	D
	T. J. Randolph	D
3. Allegheny	D. B. Layne	D
4. Amelia	R. Booker	W
5. Amherst	D. S. Garland	W
6. Augusta	J. J. Craig	W
	R. S. Brooke	W
7. Bath	G. Mayse	W
8. Bedford	Edmund Pate	W
	John W. Holt	W
9. Berkeley	Edward Colston	W
	E. P. Hunter	W
10. Botetourt	F. B. Miller	D
	G. W. Wilson	D
11. Brooke	John W. Millon	D
12. Brunswick	Chas. Turnbull	D
	J. E. Shell	W
13. Buckingham	G. Booker	D
	Chas. Yancy	D
14. Cabell	Wade Hampton	D
15. Campbell	J. Saunders	W
	Jesse Burton	W
16. Caroline	Robert Hard	W
17. Charles City and New Kent	Robert Christian	W
18. Charlotte	Henry Madison	D
19. Chesterfield	William Johnson	W

20. Culpeper	Edmund Broadus	W
21. Cumberland	Allen Wilson	W
22. Dinwiddie	John L. Scott	W
23. Elizabeth City and Warwick	Samuel B. Servant	W
24. Essex	R. M. T. Hunter	W
25. Fairfax	Spencer M. Ball	W
26. Fauquier	Thomas Marshall	W
	James French	W
27. Fayette and Nicholas	Samuel Price	W
28. Floyd	Thomas H. Stegar	D
29. Fluvanna	Barrett G. Payne	D
30. Franklin	John M. Holland	D
	John Wade	W
31. Frederick	James Gibson	D
	Richard W. Barton	D
	John B. O. Smith	D
32. Giles	Reuben F. Watts	D
33. Gloucester	Thomas Smith	W
34. Goochland	Joseph S. Watkins	D
35. Grayson	John Blair	D
36. Greenbrier	Pere B. Withered	W
37. Greensville	Tomlin Avent	D
38. Halifax	Henry Carrington	D
	James Sneed	D
39. Hampshire	William Nixon	D
	William Vance	W
49. Hanover	Henry Curtis	W
41. Hardy	John Mullen	W
42. Harrison	Daniel Kincheloe	D
	Wilson K. Shinn	D
43. Henrico	John M. Botts	W
44. Henry	Peyton Gravely	W
45. Isle of Wight	Joel Holleman	D
46. James City, York and Williamsburg	John M. Gregory	W
47. Jefferson	Henry Berry	W
	J. S. Gallaher	W
48. Kanawha	George W. Summers	W
49. King and Queen	Benjamin Pollard	
	John W. Robinson	D
50. King George	John Hool	W
51. King William	Walker Harver	W
52. Lancaster and Richmond	W. Emanuel	W
53. Lee	James Caldwell	D
54. Lewis	James M. Bennett	
	Welden Hoffman	W
55. Logan	Anthony Lawson	W

56.	Loudoun	John Janney	W
		Lewis Beard	W
		John M. M'Carty	W
57.	Louisa	George Harris	D
58.	Lunenburg	Richard May	W
59.	Madison	Linn Banks	D
60.	Mason and Jackson	Andrew Waggener	W
61.	Mathews and Middlesex	William Todd	D
62.	Mecklenburg	George Rodgers	D
		Hugh A. Garland	D
63.	Monongalia	William J. Wiley	D
		Stephen H. Morgan	D
64.	Monroe	Henry Alexander	W
65.	Montgomery	John M'Cauley	D
66.	Morgan	John Sherrard	D
67.	Nansemond	Richard D. Webb	W
68.	Nelson	Joseph C. Cabell	W
69.	Norfolk County	William Collins	W
		Samuel Watts	W
70.	Northampton	Severn E. Parker	W
71.	Northumberland	John D. Leland	D
72.	Nottoway	Travis H. Eper	W
73.	Ohio	John Brady	W
		John Parriott	W
		John M'Lure	W
74.	Orange	John Woolfolk	D
75.	Page	William M. Robertson	D
76.	Patrick	Haman Critz	W
77.	Pendleton	Thomas Jones	W
78.	Pittsylvania	Vincent Witcher	W
		William Swanson	W
79.	Pocahontas	William Cackley	D
80.	Powhatan	John W. Nash	D
81.	Preston	William Carroll	D
82.	Prince Edward	Asa Dupuy	W
83.	Prince George	William Shands	D
84.	Prince William	John W. Williams	D
85.	Princess Anne	Henry B. Woodhouse	W
86.	Randolph	Isaac Boothe	W
87.	Rappahannock	Philip Thornton	W
88.	Rockbridge	Chas. P. Dorman	W
		James McDowell, Jr.	D
89.	Rockingham	John J. Moorman	D
		Joseph Cline	D
90.	Russell	George W. Hopkins	D
91.	Scott	Robert Spear	D
92.	Shenandoah	Samuel Bare	D
		Philip D. C. Jones	D
93.	Smyth	William R. Horley	D

94. Southampton	James C. Harrison	D
	William B. Goodwyn	D
95. Spotsylvania	Oscar M. Crutchfield	D
96. Stafford	John Moncure	D
97. Surrey	John C. Crump	W
98. Sussex	Jesse Hargrave	D
99. Tazewell	James W. M. Witten	D
100. Tyler	Van B. Delashmutt	W
101. Washington	John Clarke	D
102. Westmoreland	James Jett	W
103. Wood	Henry L. Prentiss	W
104. Wythe	John Stranger	D
105. Norfolk Borough	William E. Cunningham	W
106. Petersburg	John T. Brown	W
107. Richmond	Chapman Johnson	W

John B. Robinson of King and Queen, succeeded Benjamin Pollard, who died on December 21. Robinson took his seat on January 19.

Weeden Hoffman of Lewis took seat of James M. Bennett, who left the Commonwealth. Hoffman took seat January 12, 1835.

John Parriott of Ohio, took seat of John McClure by contest on January 26, 1935.

William B. Goodwyn of Southampton, took seat of James C. Harrison, deceased. He took seat on January 24, 1835.

This classification from vote on Rives-Leigh contest for Senate.

SENATE

William Old	W	Henry E. Watkins	W
William Campbell	W	David Dyer	D
Stafford H. Parker	D	Jacqueline B. Harvie	W
Charles Cocke	W	William Bayre	D
Charles Hunton	D	William McMahon	D
David W. Patterson	W	William Donaldson	D
Joll Pannybabker	D	Waldo P. Goff	W
Richard Watts	D	John Keller	D
Francis E. Rives	D	William Maxwell	W
William R. Baskerville	D	George C. Dromgosle	D
Joll W. Flood	D	Archibald R. Harwood	D
John Page	W	Edmund Fontaine	D
Daniel F. Slaughter	D	William M. McCarty	W
Hierome L. Opie	D	John T. Anderson	D
David McComas	W	John McCoy	D
Andrew Burne	D	Benjamin H. Smith	W

Baskerville succeeded T. P. Atkinson, resigned.

This classification from Senate Journal, 1834-35, on Rives-Leigh contest.

1835

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

1. Accomac	Southey Grinalds	W
	John P. Drummond	W
2. Albemarle	T. J. Gilmer	W
	Valentine W. Southall	W
3. Alleghany	Douglas B. Layne	D
4. Amelia	John F. Wiley	D
5. Amherst	David S. Garland	W
6. Augusta	R. S. Brooke	W
	J. J. Craig	W
7. Bath	William M'Clintic	D
8. Bedford	Robert Campbell	W
	Edmund Pate	W
9. Berkeley	Edmund P. Hunter	W
	Levi Henchain	W
10. Botetourt	Fleming B. Miller	D
	George W. Wilson	D
11. Brooke	Jacob Decamps	D
12. Brunswick	Chas. Turnbull	D
	James B. Mallory	D
13. Buckingham	George Booker	D
	Archibald Austin	D
14. Cabell	Frederick G. L. Benbring	W
15. Campbell	Oden G. Clay	W
	William Daniel, Jr.	D
16. Caroline	Archibald Samuel	D
17. Charles City and New Kent	Robert Christian	W
18. Charlotte	John D. Richardson	D
19. Chesterfield	William R. Johnson	W
20. Culpeper	Ambrose P. Hill	D
21. Cumberland	Allen Wilson	W
22. Dinwiddie	John L. Scott	W
	Alfred J. Vaughan	W
23. Elizabeth City and Warwick	Samuel B. Servant	W
24. Essex	R. M. T. Hunter	W
25. Fairfax	Spencer M. Ball	W
26. Fauquier	William R. Smith	D
	Absalom Hickerson	D
27. Fayette and Nicholas	Hudson M. Dickenson	W
	Samuel Price	D
28. Floyd	Thomas H. Stegar	D
29. Fluvanna	Gideon A. Strange	D

30. Franklin	Samuel Hale	W
	John M. Holland	D
31. Frederick	James Bowen	D
	John S. Davison	D
	John B. D. Smith	W
32. Giles	Reuben F. Watts	D
33. Gloucester	Thomas Smith	W
34. Goochland	Joseph S. Watkins	D
35. Grayson	Lewis Hail	D
36. Greenbrier	Pere B. Withered	W
37. Greensville	Tomlin Avent	D
38. Halifax	John B. Carrington	D
	Thomas G. Coleman	D
39. Hampshire	Thomas Sloan	D
	William Nixon	D
40. Hanover	Charles P. Goodall	D
41. Hardy	John Mullen	W
42. Harrison	William A. Harrison	D
	Daniel Kincheloe	D
43. Henrico	William B. Randolph	D
	John M. Botts	W
44. Henry	Patrick H. Fontaine	D
45. Isle of Wight	Joel Holleman	D
46. James City, York and Williamsburg	John M. Gregory	W
47. Jefferson	Thomas Griggs, Jr.	W
	Henry Berry	W
48. Kanawha	George W. Summers	W
49. King and Queen	Alexander Fleet	W
50. King George	John Hool	W
51. King William	Samuel Robinson	D
52. Lancaster and Richmond	Robert W. Carter	W
53. Lee	Stephen T. Neill	W
54. Lewis	Samuel L. Hays	D
55. Logan	Joseph Straton	D
56. Loudoun	Lewis Beard	W
	George C. Powell	W
	Timothy Taylor, Jr.	W
57. Louisa	George Harris	D
58. Lunenburg	Joel M. Ragsdale	W
59. Madison	Linn Banks	D
60. Mason and Jackson	Andrew Waggener	W
61. Mathews and Middlesex	John R. Taylor	D
62. Mecklenburg	George Rodgers	D
	Hugh A. Garland	D
63. Monogalia	William J. Wiley	D
	Stephen H. Morgan	D
64. Monroe	A. A. Chapman	D

65.	Montgomery	John Ingles	D
66.	Morgan	John Sherrard	D
67.	Nansemond	John H. Benton	W
68.	Nelson	Alexander Brown	D
69.	Norfolk County	John W. Murdaugh	W
		Mordecai Cooke	W
70.	Northampton	Severn E. Parker	W
71.	Northumberland	John D. Leland	D
72.	Nottoway	Robert Fitzgerald, Jr.	D
73.	Ohio	Moses M. Chapline	W
		Zadach Masters	W
74.	Orange	John Woolfolk	D
75.	Page	William R. Almond	D
76.	Patrick	Haman Critz	W
		Isaac Adams	D
77.	Pendleton	William McCoy, Jr.	D
78.	Pittsylvania	William Swanson	W
		Vincent Witcher	W
79.	Pocahontas	William Cackley	D
80.	Powhatan	Henry L. Hopkins	D
81.	Preston	William Carroll	D
82.	Prince Edward	James Madison	D
83.	Prince George	William Shands	D
84.	Prince William	John W. Williams	D
85.	Princess Anne	Jesse Morris, Jr.	W
86.	Randolph	William Martinez	D
87.	Rappahannock	Joseph Micklin	D
88.	Rockbridge	Charles P. Dorman	W
		Alfred Leyburn	W
89.	Rockingham	Anderson Moffett	D
		Jacob Conrad	D
90.	Russell	William Jessee	D
91.	Scott	Fayette M. Mullen	D
92.	Shenandoah	Samuel Bare	D
		A. Rinker	D
93.	Smyth	William R. Harley	W
94.	Southampton	Edward Butts	W
95.	Spotsylvania	Oscar M. Crutchfield	D
96.	Stafford	John Moncure	D
97.	Surrey	Peter T. Spratley	D
98.	Sussex	Jesse Hargrave	D
99.	Tazewell	Robert Gillespie	D
100.	Tyler	Van B. Delashmutt	W
101.	Washington	John Gibson	D
102.	Westmoreland	James Jett	W
103.	Wood	Henry L. Prentiss	W
104.	Wythe	John A. Saunders	W
105.	Norfolk Borough	William E. Cunningham	W

106. Petersburg	John T. Brown	W
107. Richmond	Robert Stanard	W

Vaughan succeeded Scott of Dinwiddie, resigned. Took seat January 23, 1836.

Price succeeded Dickenson of Fayette and Nicholas in contest December 30, 1835.

Botts succeeded Randolph in contest December 24, 1835.

Adams succeeded Critz of Patrick in contest January 7, 1836.

This classification is given in terms of the vote on Gilmer's Resolution relative to slavery and the vote for public printer.

SENATE

John W. Nash	D		Archibald A. Campbell	?W	
William Campbell	W		David Dyer	D	
Stafford H. Parker	D		Jacqueline B. Harvie	W	
Samuel Carr	D		William Basye	D	
Charles Hunton	D		William McMahon	D	
David W. Patterson	W		William Donaldson	D	
William M. Robertson	D		Waldo P. Goff	W	
Francis Billingsby	D		John Keller	W	
Francis E. Rives	D		William Maxwell	W	
William R. Baskerville	D		Richard K. Meade	W	
Joel W. Flood	?D		Archibald R. Harwood	D	
John Page	W		Edmund Fontaine	D	
Daniel F. Slaughter	W		William McCarty	W	
Hierome L. Opie	D		John T. Anderson	D	
David McComas	W		John Parriott	W	
Andrew Burne	D		Benjamin H. Smith	W	

This classification is in terms of the vote on Ritchie and Shepard for Public Printer, and that between Peter V. Daniel and D. A. Wilson for Executive Council.

1836

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

1. Albemarle	A. Rives	D
	T. J. Randolph	D
2. Alleghany	D. B. Layne	D
3. Amelia	John F. Wiley	D
4. Amherst	Dr. James Powell	D
5. Bath	Andrew H. Byrd	D
6. Botetourt	F. B. Miller	D
	G. W. Wilson	D

7.	Brunswick	Charles Turnbull	D
		J. D. Mallory	D
8.	Buckingham	G. Booker	D
		Archibald Austin	D
		Charles Yancey	D
9.	Brooke	John McMillan	D
10.	Cabell	Thomas McAllister	D
11.	Caroline	Archibald Samuel	D
12.	Charlotte	J. D. Richardson	D
13.	Clarke and Warren	W. Carson	D
14.	Culpeper	A. P. Hill	D
15.	Dinwiddie	A. J. Vaughan	D
16.	Floyd	Harvey Dickins	D
17.	Frederick	E. W. Robinson	D
18.	Fluvanna	G. A. Strange	D
19.	Giles	Charles Hale	D
20.	Goochland	J. S. Watkins	D
21.	Grayson	Samuel Cox	D
22.	Greensville	T. Spence	D
23.	Halifax	J. R. Edwards	D
		Paul Taylor	D
24.	Hanover	Charles P. Goodall	D
25.	Harrison	W. A. Harrison	D
		Wilson K. Shinn	D
26.	Hampshire	Thomas Sloan	D
		William Nixon	D
27.	Isle of Wight	W. H. Woodley	D
28.	King and Queen	David P. Wright	D
29.	King William	J. P. Chadwick	D
30.	Lee	J. B. Collier	D
31.	Lewis	Thomas Bland	D
32.	Logan	Joseph Straton	D
33.	Louisa	Dr. A. Anderson	D
34.	Lunenburg	John Marshall	D
35.	Madison	Linn Banks	D
36.	Marshall	Alexander Newman	D
37.	Mathews and Middlesex	H. Hudgins	D
38.	Mecklenburg	G. Rogers	D
		H. A. Garland	D
39.	Monroe	H. A. Chapman	D
40.	Monongalia	W. J. Wiley	D
		Isaac Cooper	D
41.	Morgan	Johnston	D
42.	Montgomery	J. M'Cauley	D
43.	Nelson	Alexander Brown	D
44.	Northumberland	Robert Alexander	D
45.	Nottoway	R. Fitzgerald, Jr.	D
46.	Orange	J. Woolfolk	D
47.	Pendleton	W. McCoy, Jr.	D

48.	Pocahontas	William Cackley	D
49.	Preston	Buckner Fairfax	D
50.	Prince Edward	G. Madison	D
51.	Prince George	W. Shands	D
52.	Prince William	J. W. Williams	D
53.	Page	William R. Almond	D
54.	Rockingham	Andrew Moffett	D
		S. Cooter	D
55.	Russell	William Jesse	D
56.	Scott	Robert Speer	D
57.	Shenandoah	Samuel Bare	D
		A. Rinker	D
58.	Smyth	Joseph N. Davis	D
59.	Spotsylvania	Oscar W. Crutchfield	D
60.	Stafford	John Moncure	D
61.	Surry	W. E. Bailey	D
62.	Sussex	Jesse Hargrave	D
63.	Tazewell	Robert Gillespie	D
64.	Tyler	John Ripley	D
65.	Washington	John Gibson	D
66.	Wythe	John Stanger	D
67.	Greenbrier	Ballard Smith	W
68.	Hardy	John Mullen	W
69.	Henrico	John M. Botts	W
70.	Henry	Joseph Martin	W
71.	James City, York and Williamsburg	R. McCandlish	W
72.	Jefferson	H. Boteler	W
		John Davenport	W
73.	Kanawha	Andrew Donally	W
74.	King George	John Hool	W
75.	Lancaster and Richmond	R. W. Carter	W
76.	Loudoun	R. T. Luchett	W
		N. S. Braden	W
		Lewis Beard	W
77.	Nansemond	J. B. Benton	W
78.	Nicholas and Fayette	H. M. Dickenson	W
79.	Norfolk County	J. W. Murdaugh	W
80.	Norfolk Borough	W. E. Cunningham	W
81.	Northampton	Joseph Segar	W
82.	Ohio	John Brady	W
83.	Patrick	J. M. Redd	W
84.	Petersburg	J. T. Brown	W
85.	Pittsylvania	V. Witcher	W
		Tunstall	W
86.	Powhatan	W. C. Scott	W
87.	Princess Anne	Hubard	W
88.	Randolph	W. C. Haymond	W

89. Accomac	T. H. Bayley	W
	R. J. Poulson	W
90. Augusta	A. H. H. Stuart	W
	Kenton Harper	W
91. Bedford	William L. Goggin	W
	Robert Campbell	W
92. Berkeley	R. V. Snodgrass	W
	Elisha Boyd	W
93. Campbell	John Wills	W
	R. W. Withers	W
94. Chesterfield	William E. Johnson	W
95. Charles City and New Kent	Robert Christian	W
96. Cumberland	Allen Wilson	W
97. Elizabeth City and Warwick	S. B. Servant	W
98. Essex	R. M. T. Hunter	W
99. Fairfax	S. M. Ball	W
100. Fauquier	Elias Edmonds	W
	E. C. Marshall	W
101. Franklin	Samuel Hale	W
	Wiley P. Woods	W
102. Frederick	J. B. D. Smith	W
103. Gloucester	Thomas Smith	W
104. Rappahannock	J. S. Pendleton	W
105. Richmond City	Robert Stanard	W
106. Rockbridge	C. P. Dorman	W
	S. McDowell Moore	W
107. Southampton	Edward Butts	W
108. Westmoreland	James Jett	W
109. Wood	Abraham Samuels	W

W. R. Johnson of Chesterfield, resigned, succeeded by J. H. Cox, who took seat January 13, 1837.

H. L. Hopkins contested seat of W. C. Scott of Powhatan and won, February 7, 1837.

J. T. Brown of Petersburg died, succeeded by John F. May.

James Madison of Prince Edward, resigned, succeeded by N. E. Venable.

A. Austin of Buckingham, resigned, succeeded by Chas. Yancy.

James Saunders of Campbell took place of R. W. Withers.

Robert Christian died, succeeded by C. G. Coleman.

G. T. F. Lorimer succeeded Hunter of Essex, resigned.

Thomas, Griggs, Jr., of Jefferson, succeeded John Davenport, resigned.

H. L. Hopkins became member of Council, succeeded by Jacob Michaux.

S. C. Williams of Shenandoah, succeeded A. Rinker, resigned.

This classification is given in the Enquirer, May 17, 1836.

SENATE

John W. Nash.....D	David Dyer.....D
William Campbell.....W	J. B. Harvie.....W
Stafford H. Parker.....D	William Basye.....D
Samuel Carr.....D	William McMahon.....D
Charles Hunton.....D	William Donaldson.....D
David W. Patterson.....W	Waldo P. Goff.....W
William M. Robertson.....D	Fayette McMullin.....D
Francis Billingsby.....D	William Maxwell.....W
Joel Halleman.....D	Richard K. Meade.....W
R. H. Baptist.....D	A. R. Harwood.....D
Thomas M. Bondurant.....W	Corbin Braxton.....?D
Vespasian Ellis.....W	Edmund Fontaine.....D
William Smith.....D	William M. McCarty.....W
Hierome L. Opie.....D	John T. Anderson.....D
Samuel McCamant.....D	John Parriott.....W
William Thomas.....D	Benjamin H. Smith.....W
Archibald A. Campbell.....W	

Harwood and Keller resigned, succeeded by McMullin and Braxton.

NOTE: Only new Senators elected in the spring were Joel Holleman, Richard H. Baptist, William Smith, Hierome L. Opie, Samuel McCamant, William Thomas, T. M. Bondurant, Vespasian Ellis. Others same as 1835. New ones classified in Enquirer, May 17, 1836. According to the Journal of the Senate, 1840-1841, p. 69, McMullin voted for McDowell for Senate, hence a Democrat.

1837

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

1. Accomac	T. H. Bayly	W
	R. L. Poulson	W
2. Albemarle	A. Rives	D
	T. J. Randolph	D
3. Alleghany	William G. Holloway	D
4. Amelia	Radophil Jeter	D
5. Amherst	Addison Taliaferro	D
6. Augusta	A. H. H. Stuart	W
	William Kenney	W
7. Bath	Andrew H. Byrd	D
8. Bedford	Thomas P. Mitchell	W
	T. A. Cobbs	W
9. Berkeley	Tillotsan Fryatt	W
	Robert V. Snodgrass	W
10. Botetourt	Thomas Shanks	D
	William M. Peyton	D
11. Braxton and Lewis	Marshall Triplett	W
12. Brooke	Campbell Tarr	D

13.	Brunswick	Charles Turnbull	D
		J. B. Mallory	D
14.	Buckingham	R. T. Hubard	D
		Charles Yancey	D
15.	Cabell	Solomon Thornburg	D
16.	Campbell	William Daniel, Jr.	D
		Z. E. Cheatham	D
17.	Caroline	Robert E. Corbin	W
18.	Charles City and New Kent	William R. E. Douglas	D
19.	Charlotte	Wyatt Cardwell	W
20.	Chesterfiled	James H. Cox	D
21.	Charles and Warren	William Castleman	D
22.	Culpeper	A. P. Hill	D
23.	Cumberland	Allen Wilson	W
24.	Dinwiddie	Alfred J. Vaugham	D
25.	Elizabeth City and Warwick	James B. Servant	W
26.	Essex	George T. F. Lorimer	W
27.	Fairfax	Edward Sangster	D
28.	Fauquier	Edward C. Marhsall	W
		Edward Digger	W
29.	Fayette and Nicholas	Hudson M. Dickinson	W
30.	Floyd	Harvey Deskins	D
31.	Fluvanna	Gideon A. Strange	D
		Barrett G. Payne	
32.	Franklin	Solomon Pasley	W
		Thomas S. Keen	D
33.	Frederick	William Wood	D
		Joseph H. Sherrard	D
34.	Giles and Mercer	M. Chapman	D
35.	Gloucester	Thomas Smith	W
36.	Goochland	Joseph S. Watkins	D
37.	Grayson	William Oglesby	D
38.	Greenbrier	H. G. Pinnell	W
39.	Greensville	Thomas Spencer	D
40.	Halifax	John R. Edmunds	D
		Paul Taylor	D
41.	Hampshire	William Odell	W
		George Park	D
42.	Hanover	William L. White	D
43.	Hardy	John Mullen	W
44.	Harrison	William A. Harrison	D
		Jesse Flowers	D
45.	Henrico	W. M. N. Whiting	D
		John M. Botts	W
46.	Henry	William Martin	W
47.	Isle of Wight	Arthur Smith	D
48.	James City, York and Williamsburg	Robert McCandlish	W

49.	Jefferson	John Peter	W
		William Lucas	D
50.	Kanawha	Daniel Smith	W
51.	King and Queen	Daniel P. Wright	D
52.	King George	Edward T. Tayloe	W
53.	King William	James T. Shadwick	D
54.	Lancaster and Richmond	V. Y. Conway	W
55.	Lee	James Allen	D
56.	Logan	Jonas McDonald	D
57.	Loudoun	Robert T. Luchett	W
		Lewis Beard	W
		Timothy Taylor, Jr	W
58.	Louisa	Hugh Goodwyn, Jr	D
59.	Lunenburg	John Orgain	D
60.	Madison	Linn Banks	D
61.	Marshall	Alexander Newman	D
62.	Mason and Jackson	Henry J. Fisher	D
63.	Mathews and Middlesex	H. Hudgins	D
64.	Mecklenburg	Hugh A. Garland	D
		Peyton R. Burwell	D
65.	Monongalia	Thomas S. Hayward	W
		Stephen H. Morgan	D
66.	Monroe	A. A. Chapman	D
67.	Montgomery	David Barnett	D
68.	Morgan	Isaiah Buck	D
69.	Nansemond	William D. Hodges	W
70.	Nelson	Alexander Brown	D
71.	Norfolk Borough	William E. Cunningham	W
72.	Norfolk County	John W. Murdaugh	W
		Samuel Watts	W
73.	Northampton	Joseph Segar	W
74.	Northumberland	Robert Alexander	D
75.	Nottoway	William Fitzgerald	D
76.	Ohio	William McConnell	W
77.	Orange	John Woolfolk	D
78.	Page	John McPherson	D
79.	Patrick	Isaac Adams	D
80.	Pendleton	William McCoy	D
81.	Petersburg	John F. May	W
82.	Pittsylvania	N. P. Ticenstall	W
		B. W. S. Cabell	W
83.	Pocahontas	John Gay	D
84.	Powhatan	Jacob Michaux	D
85.	Preston	Buckner Fairfax	D
86.	Prince Edward	N. E. Venable	D
87.	Prince George	William Shands	D
88.	Prince William	John W. Williams	D
89.	Princess Anne	Jesse Morris	W
90.	Randolph	Henry Sturm	
91.	Rappahannock	John S. Pendleton	W

92. Richmond City	Wyndham Robertson	
93. Rockbridge	Alfred Leyburn	W
	J. McDowell	D
94. Rockingham	Samuel Cootes	D
	Isaac Thomas	D
95. Russell	Harvey Gray	D
96. Scott	David Culbertson	D
97. Shenandoah	R. M. Conn	?D
	David Crawford	D
98. Smyth	Joseph W. Davis	D
99. Southampton	James Clayton	D
100. Spotsylvania	Oscar W. Crutchfield	?D
101. Stafford	James W. Ford	W
102. Surrey	William E. Bailey	D
103. Sussex	John J. Prince	D
104. Tazewell	James W. M. Watten	D
105. Tyler	John Ripley	D
106. Washington	Samuel E. Goodson	D
107. Westmoreland	William G. Walker	W
108. Wood	John P. Mayberry	W
109. Wythe	James T. Gleaves	D

Strange of Fluvanna died February 23, 1838, succeeded by Barrett G. Payne, March 12, 1838.

Botts succeeded William N. Whiting of Henrico, contest, January 20, 1838.

January 5, 1838, on motion of Mr. Stuart that election of Public Printer be indefinitely deferred, Whigs almost unanimously voted aye. Enquirer's classification and reference to previous affiliation also aided in this classification.

SENATE

John W. Nash	D	Louis C. Bouldin	D
William Campbell	W	David Dyer	D
Stafford H. Parker	D	J. B. Harvie	W
Samuel Carr	D	R. W. Carter	W
Charles Hunton	D	Anderson Moffett	D
David W. Patterson	W	C. J. Faulkner	W
William M. Robertson	D	Thomas Bland	D
Francis Billingsby	D	Fayette McMullen	D
Joel Holleman	D	William Maxwell	W
R. H. Baptist	D	R. K. Meade	W
Thomas M. Bondurant	W	Corbin Braxton	D
Vespasian Ellis	W	Edmund Fontaine	D
William Smith	D	William McCarty	W
H. L. Opie	D	John T. Anderson	D
Samuel McCamant	D	John Parriott	W
William Thomas	D	Benjamin H. Smith	W

May 2, May 12, 1837, Enquirer gives classification of Senators elected in the spring. Braxton is here given as a Democrat.

1838

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

1. Accomac	Thomas H. Bayly	W
	Thomas T. Cropper	W
2. Albemarle	V. W. Southall	W
	T. W. Gilmer	W
3. Alleghany	William G. Holloway	D
4. Amelia	Henry Wood	W
5. Amherst	Edward C. Cabell	W
6. Augusta	A. H. H. Stuart	W
	William Kinney	W
7. Bath	William McClintick	D
8. Bedford	T. A. Cobbs	W
	Thomas P. Mitchell	W
9. Berkeley	Tillotsan Fryatt	W
	R. V. Snodgrass	W
10. Botetourt	Thomas Shanks	D
	William M. Peyton	D
11. Braxton and Lewis	Weedon Hoffman	D
12. Brooke	Campbell Tarr	D
13. Brunswick	William H. E. Merritt	W
	Creed Haskins	D
14. Buckingham	George W. Kyle	W
	Thomas H. Flood	W
15. Cabell	Solomon Thoenburg	D
16. Campbell	R. H. Toler	W
	Thomas Fox	W
17. Caroline	Robert B. Corbin	W
18. Charles City and New Kent	Thomas H. Wilcox	W
19. Charlotte	Wyatt Cardwell	W
20. Chesterfiled	James H. Cox	D
21. Clarke and Warren	William Carson	D
22. Culpeper	Edmund Broadus	W
23. Cumberland	Allen Wilson	W
24. Dinwiddie	Alfred J. Vaugham	D
25. Elizabeth City and Warwick	Samuel B. Servant	W
26. Essex	G. T. F. Lorimer	W
27. Fairfax	Spencer M. Ball	W
28. Fauquier	Elias Edmonds	W
	Josiah Tidball	W
29. Fayette and Nicholas	Oliver L. Waite	D
30. Floyd	Harvey Deskins	D
31. Fluvanna	Barrett G. Payne	D
32. Franklin	Samuel Hale	W
	John Wade	W

33. Frederick	Joseph H. Sherrard	D
	Richard W. Barton	W
34. Giles and Mercier	Manilius Chapman	D
35. Gloucester	Thomas Smith	W
36. Goochland	Joseph S. Watkins	D
37. Grayson	Lewis Hall	D
38. Greenbrier	Joseph H. Dangerfield	W
39. Greensville	Joseph Turner	W
40. Halifax	John R. Edwards	D
	Paul Taylor	D
41. Hampshire	William Odell	W
	George Park	D
42. Hanover	William L. White	D
43. Hardy	William Seymour	W
44. Harrison	Jesse Flowers	D
	E. J. Armstrong	D
45. Henrico	John M. Botts	W
46. Henry	William Martin	W
47. Isle of Wight	Arthur Smith	D
48. James City, York and Williamsburg	John Tyler	W
49. Jefferson	Bushrod C. Washington	W
	George Reynolds	W
50. Kanawha	Daniel Smith	W
51. King and Queen	David P. Wright	D
52. King George	Edward P. Tayloe	W
53. King William	James T. Shadwick	D
54. Lancaster and Richmond	V. Y. Conway	W
55. Lee	Jonathan Richmond	
56. Logan	Henry Farley	W
57. Loudoun	Lewis Beard	W
	Sanford J. Raney	W
	Timothy Taylor, Jr	W
58. Louisa	Archibald Anderson	D
59. Lunenburg	John Orgain	D
60. Madison	John Booton	D
	Robert A. Banks	
61. Marshall	Elbert H. Caldwell	W
62. Mason and Jackson	N. Smith	W
63. Mathews and Middlesex	John R. Taylor	D
64. Mecklenburg	Alexander Dortch	D
	William O. Goode	W
65. Monongalia	Thomas S. Haywood	W
	John Clayton	D
66. Monroe	James A. Dunlap	W
67. Montgomery	David Barnett	D
68. Morgan	John O'Ferrall	D
69. Nansemond	William D. Hodges	W
70. Nelson	Floyd H. Whitehead	D

71. Norfolk Borough	William E. Cunningham	W
72. Norfolk County	Samuel Watts	W
	J. H. Langhorne	W
73. Northampton	George T. Yerby	?W
74. Northumberland	Robert Alexander	D
75. Nottoway	William Fitzgerald	D
76. Ohio	William McConnell	W
77. Orange	John Woolfolk	D
78. Page	John McPherson	D
79. Patrick	Martin Cloud	D
80. Pendleton	William McCoy	D
81. Petersburg	John F. May	W
82. Pittsylvania	Whitwell P. Tunstall	W
	Vincent Witcher	W
83. Pocahontas	John Gay	D
84. Powhatan	James M. Harris	W
85. Preston	William Carroll	D
86. Prince Edward	Nathaniel E. Venable	D
87. Prince George	William Shands	D
88. Prince William	Daniel Ratcliff	D
89. Princess Anne	William Roberts	W
90. Randolph	Henry Sturm	D
91. Rappahannock	John S. Pendleton	W
92. Richmond City	Wyndham Robertson	W
93. Rockbridge	Alfred Leyburn	W
	Charles P. Dorman	W
94. Rockingham	Edward H. Smith	D
	Isaac Thomas	D
95. Russell	Henry D. Smith	D
96. Scott	James Culbertson	D
97. Shenandoah	Samuel Bare	D
	Raphael M. Conn	D
98. Smyth	Joseph W. Davis	D
99. Southampton	James B. Urquhart	W
100. Spotsylvania	Oscar W. Crutchfield	D
101. Stafford	Alexander Fitzhugh	D
102. Surrey	William E. Bailey	D
	James S. Clarke	D
103. Sussex	John J. Prince	D
104. Tazewell	Addison Crockett	D
105. Tyler	James M. Stephenson	W
106. Washington	S. E. Goodson	D
107. Westmoreland	W. G. Walker	W
108. Wood	J. J. Jackson	W
109. Wythe	C. L. Crockett	W

Banks won Booton's seat in Madison on contest March 2, 1839.

W. E. Bailey of Surrey, deceased, succeeded by Clarke, February 8, 1839.

This classification is taken from the Whig, May 18, 1838.

SENATE

J. N. Nash	D	L. C. Bouldin	D
William Campbell	W	David Dyer	D
S. H. Parker	D	J. B. Harvie	W
Samuel Carr	D	R. W. Carter	W
Charles Hunton	D	Anderson Moffett	D
D. W. Patterson	W	C. J. Faulkner	W
W. M. Robertson	D	Thomas Bland	D
Francis Billingsby	D	Fayette McMullen	D
J. Hooleman	D	H. B. Woodhouse	W
R. H. Baptist	D	Edward P. Scott	D
T. W. Bondurant	W	William Todd	D
R. J. Boulson	W	Edmund Fontaine	D
William Smith	D	W. M. McCarty	W
H. L. Opie	D	John T. Anderson	D
Samual McCamant	D	Moses C. Good	D
William Thomas	D	B. H. Smith	W

The classification is from the Whig, May 8-15, and the Enquirer, May 1-15, 1838.

1839

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

1. Accomac	T. H. Bayly	W
	T. T. Cropper	W
2. Albemarle	V. W. Southall	W
	T. W. Gilmer	W
3. Alleghany	Samuel Carpenter	D
4. Amelia	Henry Wood	W
5. Amherst	Edward A. Cabell	W
6. Augusta	Franklin McCue	W
	Gerald B. Stuart	W
7. Bath	William Lockbridge	W
8. Bedford	William M. Burwell	W
	Thomas P. Mitchell	W
9. Berkeley	Jacob Myers	W
	Edmund P. Hunter	W
10. Botetourt	Joseph Hanneh	D
11. Braxton and Lewis	Jacob J. Jackson	D
12. Brooke	John McMillan	D
13. Brunswick	William Meredith	D
	Creed Haskins	D
14. Buckingham	George W. Kyle	W
	Thomas H. Flood	W
15. Cabell	Solomon Thornburg	D

16. Campbell	Richard H. Taber	W
	Thomas Fox	W
17. Caroline	Robert B. Carbin	W
18. Charles City and New Kent	Clayton G. Coleman	W
19. Charlotte	Wyatt Cardwell	W
20. Chesterfiled	James H. Cox	D
21. Clarke and Warren	Nathaniel Burwell	D
22. Culpeper	Edmund Broadus	W
23. Cumberland	Allen Wilson	W
24. Dinwiddie	Thomas Whiteworth	W
25. Elizabeth City and Warwick	Carter Crofford	W
26. Essex	Lawrence Roane	W
27. Fairfax	John Powell	D
28. Fauquier	James K. Marshall	W
	Robert E. Scott	W
29. Fayette and Nicholas	General Alderson	W
30. Floyd	John Howell	D
31. Fluvanna	Barrett G. Payne	W
32. Franklin	Samuel Hale	W
	John Wade	W
33. Frederick	R. L. Baker	D
	Richard E. Byrd	D
34. Giles	Charles King	D
35. Gloucester	Thomas Smith	W
36. Goochland	John Guerrant	D
37. Grayson	John Carroll	D
38. Greenbrier	Henry Erskine	W
39. Greensville	Augustine C. Butts	D
40. Halifax	Paul Taylor	D
	William H. Clarke	D
41. Hampshire	David Gibson	W
	James Allen	D
42. Hanover	William L. White	D
43. Hardy	William Seymour	W
44. Harrison	George H. Lee	D
	E. J. Armstrong	D
45. Henrico	Sherman McRae	W
46. Henry	William Hawlett	W
47. Isle of Wight	Arthur Smith	D
48. James City, York and Williamsburg	John M. Gregory	W
49. Jefferson	William C. Worthington	W
	Anthony Kennedy	W
50. Kanawha	Van B. Reynolds	W
51. King and Queen	David P. Wright	D
52. King George	Edward T. Tayloe	W
53. King William	W. S. Fontaine	D

54.	Lancaster and Richmond	William H. Tayloe	W
55.	Lee	Joshua Ewing	D
56.	Logan	Anthony Lawson	W
57.	Loudoun	Lewis Beard	W
		Raney	W
		H. T. Harrison	W
58.	Louisa	Joseph Lipscomb	D
59.	Lunenburg	John Orgain	D
60.	Madison	Robert A. Banks	D
61.	Marshall	John Scott	
		E. H. Caldwell	W
62.	Mason and Jackson	N. Smith	W
63.	Mathews and Middlesex	John R. Taylor	D
64.	Mecklenburg	W. R. Baskerville	D
		William O. Goode	D
65.	Monongalia	John Clayton	D
		James Evans	W
66.	Monroe	A. A. Chapman	D
67.	Montgomery	William Wade	D
68.	Morgan	Henry Myers	D
69.	Nansemond	William D. Hodges	W
70.	Nelson	William Massie	W
71.	Norfolk Borough	J. T. Albyn	W
72.	Norfolk County	S. Watts	W
		William Etheridge	W
73.	Northampton	George T. Yerby	W
74.	Northumberland	William B. Hudnall	D
75.	Nottoway	William Fitzgerald	D
76.	Ohio	William McConnell	W
77.	Orange	Joseph Haden	D
78.	Page	Jonas Aleshire	D
79.	Patrick	John C. Stapler	W
80.	Pendleton	Harmon Hines	D
81.	Petersburg	John F. May	W
82.	Pittsylvania	W. P. Tunstall	W
		John Keen	W
83.	Pocahontas	Benjamin Tallman	W
84.	Powhatan	Jacob Michaux	D
85.	Preston	William Carroll	D
86.	Prince Edward	N. E. Venable	D
87.	Prince George	H. T. Heath	D
88.	Prince William	Daniel Ratcliff	D
89.	Princess Anne	William Roberts	W
90.	Randolph	Henry Sturm	D
91.	Rappahannock	William Walden	W
92.	Richmond City	Wyndham Robertson	W
93.	Roanoke	Henry Snyder	D
94.	Rockbridge	A. Leyburn	W
		C. P. Dorman	W

95. Rockingham	E. H. Smith	D
	J. C. Shipman	D
96. Russell	H. D. Smith	W
97. Scott	Charles Quillen	D
98. Shenandoah	R. M. Conn	D
	Samuel Bare	D
99. Smyth	H. A. Griever	W
100. Southampton	Robert Ridley	D
101. Spotsylvania	Oscar W. Crutchfield	W
102. Stafford	Alexander Fitzhugh	D
103. Surry	James Clarke	D
104. Sussex	John I. Prince	D
105. Tazewell	J. C. Spotts	D
106. Tyler	James M. Stephenson	W
107. Washington	S. M. Goodson	D
108. Westmoreland	W. G. Walker	W
109. Wood	John J. Jackson	W
110. Wythe	John Stanger	D

Caldwell of Marshall took contested seat January 10, 1840.
Hodges of Nansemond died February 26, 1840.

SENATE

John W. Nash	D	William Thomas	D
William Campbell	W	James Lyons	W
J. B. Thornton	W	R. W. Carter	W
Charles Cocke	W	Anderson Moffett	D
Charles Hunton	D	C. J. Faulkner	W
John H. Peyton	W	Thomas Bland	D
William Carson	D	Fayette McMullen	D
William J. Willey	D	H. B. Woodhouse	W
Archibald Atkinson	D	Edmund P. Scott	D
R. H. Baptist	D	William Tod	D
T. M. Bondurant	W	Edmund Fontaine	D
R. J. Poulson	W	James McIlhaney	W
William Smith	D	J. T. Anderson	D
Hierome L. Opie	D	Moses C. Good	D
Samuel McCamant	D	Robert A. Thompson	D

NOTE: This date from the Enquirer, June 4, 1839. McIlhaney and Thompson could not be found here, so they are given according to their votes in the Journal on the Senatorial question, 1840-41.

1840

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

1.	Accomac	T. T. Cropper	W
		Thomas H. Bayly	W
2.	Albemarle	V. W. Southall	W
		Isaac A. Coles	W
3.	Alleghany	S. Carpenter	D
4.	Amelia	John F. Wiley	D
5.	Amherst	Edward A. Cabell	W
6.	Augusta	Franklin McCue	W
		Gerald B. Stuart	W
7.	Bath	Andrew H. Byrd	D
8.	Bedford	William M. Burwell	W
		Thomas P. Mitchell	W
9.	Berkeley	Jacob Vandoren	W
		Tillotson Frayatt	W
10.	Botetourt	Joseph Hanneh	D
11.	Braxton and Lewis	Jacob J. Jackson	D
12.	Brooke	William Jones	D
13.	Brunswick	Creed Haskins	D
14.	Buckingham	G. W. Kyle	W
		Thomas H. Flood	W
15.	Cabell	Peter C. Buffington	D
16.	Campbell	R. H. Taber	W
		Robert Irvine	W
17.	Caroline	R. B. Corbin	W
18.	Charles City and New Kent	C. G. Coleman	W
19.	Charlotte	Wyatt Cardwell	W
20.	Chesterfield	James H. Cox	D
21.	Clarke and Warren	Nathaniel Burwell	D
22.	Culpeper	Edmund Broadus	W
23.	Cumberland	Henry P. Irving	W
24.	Dinwiddie	Alfred L. Vaughn	D
25.	Elizabeth City and Warwick	Samuel Colton	W
26.	Essex	Lawrence Roane	W
27.	Fairfax	Edward Sangster	D
28.	Fauquier	Robert E. Scott	W
		J. K. Marshall	W
29.	Fayette and Nicholas	Addison McLaughlin	W
30.	Floyd	Harvey Deskins	D
31.	Fluvanna	B. G. Payne	W
32.	Franklin	W. P. Woods	W
		Samuel Hale	W
33.	Frederick	William Wood	D
		James Cather	W

34. Giles	O. F. Johnson	D
35. Gloucester	Thomas Smith	W
36. Goochland	John Guerrant	D
37. Grayson	William Wilkinson	D
38. Greenbrier	Henry Erskine	W
39. Greenville	A. C. Butts	D
40. Halifax	Paul Taylor	D
	William H. Clarke	
41. Hampshire	William Vance	W
	William Odell	W
42. Hanover	Charles Thompson	W
43. Hardy	John Mullen	W
44. Harrison	G. H. Lee	D
	E. J. Armstrong	D
45. Henrico	Sherwin McRae	W
46. Henry	William J. Hamlett	W
47. Isle of Wight	Arthur Smith	D
48. James City, York and Williamsburg	John M. Gregory	W
49. Jefferson	G. B. Stephenson	W
	W. C. Worthington	W
50. Kanawha	Andrew Donnelly	W
51. King and Queen	W. B. Davis	D
52. King William	B. F. Dabney	D
53. Lancaster and Richmond	William H. Tayloe	W
54. Lee	B. F. Haburn	D
55. Loudoun	Lewis Beard	W
	S. J. Raney	W
	H. T. Harrison	W
56. Louisa	John Z. Holloday	D
57. Lunenburg	R. T. Marshall	D
58. Madison	John Booton	D
	R. A. Banks	D
59. Marshall	Elbert H. Caldwell	W
60. Mason and Jackson	Andrew Bryan	D
61. Mathews and Middlesex	Damuel Diggs	D
62. Mecklenburg	W. O. Goode	D
	F. W. Boyd	D
63. Monongalia	John Clayton	D
	Caleb Tanzey	D
64. Monroe	A. A. Chapman	D
65. Montgomery	William Wade	D
66. Morgan	Cromwell Orrick	W
67. Nansemond	J. M. Harrell	W
68. Nelson	Alexander Brown	W
69. Norfolk Borough	Robert Taylor	W
70. Norfolk County	J. H. Langhorne	W
	William Etheridge	W
71. Northampton	G. T. Yerby	W

72.	Northumberland	J. M. Smith	D
73.	Nottoway	George Fitzgerald	D
74.	Ohio	William McConnell	W
75.	Orange	Joseph Haden	D
76.	Page	John McPherson	D
77.	Patrick	John D. Cheatham	W
78.	Pendleton	Harmon Hines	D
79.	Petersburg	John F. May	W
80.	Pittsylvania	W. P. Tunstall	W
		John Keen	W
81.	Pocahontas	George Burner	?
82.	Powhatan	G. N. N. Porter	W
83.	Preston	William G. Brown	D
84.	Prince Edward	S. D. Burke	W
85.	Prince George	H. G. Heath	D
86.	Prince William	D. Ratcliff	D
87.	Princess Anne	John H. Day	W
88.	Randolph	Samuel Elliott	W
89.	Rappahannock	J. F. Strother	W
90.	Richmond City	W. Robertson	W
91.	Roanoke	Henry Snyder	D
92.	Rockbridge	C. P. Dorman	W
		Alfred Leyburn	W
93.	Rockingham	E. H. Smith	D
		J. C. Shipman	D
94.	Russell	George Corvan	D
95.	Scott	James Bevins	D
96.	Shenandoah	R. M. Conn	D
		S. C. Williams	D
97.	Smyth	Thomas M. Tate	D
98.	Southampton	Robert Ridley	D
99.	Spotsylvania	O. M. Crutchfield	W
100.	Stafford	Alexander Fitzhugh	D
101.	Surrey	D. Warren	D
102.	Sussex	John J. Prince	D
103.	Tazewell	J. C. Spotts	D
104.	Tyler	J. M. Stephenson	W
105.	Washington	S. E. Goodson	D
106.	Westmoreland	W. G. Walker	W
107.	Wood	John Stephenson	W
108.	Wythe	A. S. Fulton	D

Colton of Elizabeth City and Warwick died March 8, 1841.

Gregory of James City, York and Williamsburg died March 18, 1841.

Banks won contest over Booton of Madison February 17, 1841.

J. Y. Mason and J. McDowell were supported by Democrats. Rives won on joint ballot, Rives 85; Mason 46; McDowell 30. Rives was supported by Whigs. This classification is from the House Journal, 1840-41, in regard to vote on Senatorial candidates.

SENATE

John W. Nash	D	Louis C. Bouldin	D
William Campbell	W	David Dyer	D
J. B. Thornton, Jr	W	James Lyons	W
Charles Cocke	W	R. W. Carter	W
Charles Hunton	D	Anderson Moffett	D
John H. Peyton	W	C. J. Faulkner	W
William Carson	D	Thomas Bland	D
William J. Willey	D	Fayette McMullen	D
Archibald Atkinson	D	H. B. Woodhouse	W
R. H. Baptist	D	E. P. Scott	D
Thomas M. Bondurant	W	William Todd	D
J. W. Custis	W	Edmund Fontaine	W
William Smith	D	James McIlhaney	W
R. Y. Conrad	W	John T. Anderson	W
J. H. Piper	D	Moses C. Good	W
William B. Preston	D	R. A. Thompson	D

This classification is from Journal of the Senate, 1840-1841, on vote between Rives, Mason and McDowell.

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